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Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session

Dascalescu Address

AU1207164088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jul 88 p 5

["Speech by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government, at the 44th CEMA Session"—in Prague, 7 July]

[Text] In his speech, the leader of the Romanian delegation presented at length the policy promoted by our party and state and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concepts and consideration on the settlement of some major problems confronting humanity today.

The CEMA session is being held at a time of socialist construction when its member countries are firmly involved in intensively developing their national economies. Under RCP leadership, the Romanian people are carrying out extensive activity to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference. Socialist Romania firmly works to implement the strategic goal of the current 5-year plan, namely to exceed the current stage of a developing country and move to a new and higher stage—a medium-developed socialist country—by 1990. "At the same time, on the basis of the party program and the long-term guidelines up to the year 2000—as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized in his report to the RCP National Conference of December 1987—we will implement all targets regarding the vigorous development of the forces of production, industry, agriculture, and the other areas. Romania will turn into a country with a vigorous industry and agriculture, similar to those in developed countries, and will guarantee the progress of all areas in general, so as to ensure our society's balanced and comprehensive development, increasingly better working and living conditions, and the proper affirmation of the human personality of all citizens in Romania."

After a lengthy account of the successes achieved by the Romanian people in the first 2 and ½ years of the current 5-year plan in all socioeconomic areas, and our party's concern with further increasing socioeconomic efficiency and with completely capitalizing on the advantages created through the firm application of the principles of workers self-management and self-administration, through the harmonious blending of the leadership on the basis of the uniform national plan and the increased responsibility and tasks of the collective leadership bodies in formulating and fulfilling plans, and through the close cooperation between state bodies and workers revolutionary democracy bodies, the speaker said:

In the RCP's concept, international economic cooperation constitutes an objective requirement to implement the country's development programs, to ensure the progress of the socioeconomic activity under favorable conditions, and a policy of cooperation, friendship, and peace with all nations in the world. The party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted at the RCP National Conference that "an important role is being played in this respect by our country's active participation in the CEMA activity, in implementing the long-term agreements up to the year 2000 within CEMA, and in perfecting its activity, so that production-sharing and specialization between its member countries will contribute effectively to the progress of each socialist country and to the development of socialism in general."

The Romanian side has worked within CEMA and is determined to continue to work fully in keeping with this principled position promoted by our party and state. Assessing positively the activity carried out by the council bodies inbetween the 42d and 44th meetings of the CEMA session, I would like to dwell on some problems concerning us in connection with perfecting our mutual cooperation.

The first problem refers to the content of the activity carried out by the CEMA bodies. In the period following the last extraordinary meeting of the council session, the steps taken to implement the decisions adopted have improved the activity of the CEMA bodies to a certain extent and have reduced the number of their meetings and working bodies.

However, the tendency to channel the activity of the CEMA bodies toward problems of a general methodological nature of cooperation, as well as toward examining a great number of problems regarding relations with other countries and international organizations has been increasingly obvious. As the 1988-89 working plans show, the CEMA branch bodies have established a limited number of tasks and specific actions channeled toward expanding cooperation in the area of material production.

I want to emphasize that such a narrowing of the area of activity of the CEMA bodies does not benefit the development of mutual cooperation and the implementation of the targets that formed the basis of creating CEMA.

In keeping with what was agreed upon at the last session, at this point it is necessary for the council to focus its efforts on working out steps to intensify multilateral cooperation, especially in specialization and cooperation, expanding, on this basis, mutual trade, and meeting the needs for fuels, energy, raw materials, equipment, modern technologies, and industrial consumer goods and foodstuffs to a greater extent.

In this sense, taking account of the fact that the settlement of the problem of cooperation to ensure the needs for fuel, energy, and raw materials is of the greatest importance for the countries' development, as the draft resolution stipulates, it is necessary for the CEMA bodies to identify new cooperation ventures in this area in the coming period, and to begin and finalize, as soon as possible, negotiations aimed at giving them concrete shape on the basis of appropriate conventions and agreements.

The second problem refers to perfecting the mechanism of cooperation. In the 8 months that have passed since the 43d extraordinary session, the CEMA bodies have begun to study such problems as perfecting the main elements of the mechanism of mutual cooperation in the area of plan coordination, credit, financial, and foreign currency relations, price setting in mutual trade, and legal bases of cooperation.

The first results up to now have proved the complexity of these problems and their dependence on numerous factors outside the area of mutual cooperation, and they have proved that no hasty measures should be taken, which would leave out a necessary stage and would not take into consideration the specific conditions in our country, and the generally valid laws of planned leadership of the socialist economy. Therefore, in connection with the problem of perfecting the mechanism of cooperation, CEMA bodies must continue their work planned for the 1988-90 period. On the basis of results and the report that will be presented in 1990 by the Executive Committee in this respect, measures must be taken to continue to perfect the mechanism of mutual cooperation.

As was agreed upon at the previous session, we believe that the provisions of the CEMA Statute fully preserve their validity. We advocate the improvement of the council's activity in accordance with the basic principles and statutory norms of cooperation among the CEMA member countries by further preserving and developing the forms and methods of cooperation, which have proven their usefulness in practice.

In this context, the speaker emphasized that Romania did not agree with nor does it view the creation of a united market of the CEMA member countries as a topical issue. We must give pride of place to the problems of improving production sharing and specialization and of intensifying mutual cooperation in making better use of production capacities and investments in our countries, and cooperation in raising the technical and qualitative level of production. In connection with expanding direct relations between enterprises, central departments, and research units, the Romanian side supports this form of cooperation and will see to it that these direct relations will take place in accordance with the domestic regulations of each country. Such relations should be achieved closely linked to the specific requirements of production sharing and specialization because they cannot take place as an activity in itself, without being linked to the practical problems of cooperation and goods exchanges.

A third problem regards the organizational framework of the CEMA bodies. In connection with a more simple structure of our organization, the Romanian delegation agrees with the provisions of the draft resolution regarding the fusion of the CEMA standing commissions for the oil, gas, and coal industries, and for geology. In our view, the new body should be set up at a CEMA committee level, as was the case in other important areas of mutual cooperation such as machine-building, the agro-industrial complex, and the area of electronics. We also agree with merging the commissions for the iron and steel industry, and nonferrous metallurgy.

The previous session set the task for the Executive Council to present proposals on a more simple system of international economic organizations created on a multilateral basis by the CEMA member countries with a view to eliminating parallelism between them and the activity of CEMA bodies. As the report on the council's activity between sessions shows, some measures have been adopted in this respect and final proposals will be formulated during 1989. However, in connection with this problem we note the tendency of some ministries and central bodies in our countries to replace the dissolved CEMA bodies by new organizational forms outside the council, which should actually examine the same problems that were examined by the former bodies. To avoid the reestablishment of such bodies outside CEMA, as well as parallel activities with those carried out by the council bodies that have taken over the respective areas, we deem it right to take firm action to implement the joint resolutions. Thus, in case we want to create an independent framework for multilateral cooperation in a certain direction, it is possible to create temporary working bodies of the Executive Committee, including at the ministerial level.

The leader of the Romanian delegation then presented our party's and state's position in connection with developing scientific-technical cooperation and perfecting the international division of labor among the CEMA member countries, production sharing and specialization, and the plan coordination work in the 1991-95 period—all of them issues included in the agenda of the current session.

The experience of socialist construction in Romania and the trends at the world level prove the correctness of the set of measures adopted by our party over the past 20 years to give impetus to our national scientific creativity. As far back as the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that "the program of the development of the socialist society in the coming 5 years and meeting the constantly increasing needs of the national economy are indissolubly linked to scientific progress and to intensifying basic and applied research work in all areas."

The firm promotion of this orientation has brought about a steady enhancement of the role played by science in socialist construction in our country. In the past 20 years the number of the working personnel in the area of research-development increased 5 times over, the fixed assets 11 times, while current expenses in this area increased 14 times over.

Referring to several achievements, the speaker then said: In accordance with the measures adopted by the party and state leadership, the ministries and research and production units in our country have intensively participated in the activity of cooperation carried out so far within the framework of the approximately 800 research-development projects within the Comprehensive Program in which they were interested by signing more than 240 cooperation documents—conventions, agreements, and protocols— as well as 140 economic accords and contracts aimed at the manufacture of new products, prototypes, and technologies, and at achieving other results to be applied in the production process.

After examining a number of specific aspects of increasing efficiency and cooperation in implementing the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries up to the Year 2000, the speaker emphasized the need for the CEMA countries and bodies to take more energetic action to implement the Comprehensive Program and the priority projects in order to achieve the desired results as soon as possible, so that, on this basis, we can move to organizing cooperation and specialization, and to mutual deliveries, so that some of the results of this program may be used in the economies of our countries in the current 5-year plan period. The Romanian side expresses the conviction that, through more systematic and sustained cooperation between the cooperation bodies and organizations of the CEMA member countries, the targets of the Comprehensive Program can be implemented under favorable conditions.

In the broad context of problems posed by the implementation of the Comprehensive Program, the speaker specifically referred to the fulfillment of priority targets—"introducing electronics into the national economy."

The speaker then called attention to some aspects that should be solved urgently, and emphasized that the CEMA countries and bodies, and the international economic organizations of the CEMA member countries are duty-bound to take sustained action to intensify cooperation in implementing the proposed targets and in fulfilling all obligations assumed in conventions and agreements on cooperation and specialization concluded to meet the member countries' need for electronic technology to a greater extent. It is also necessary for the CEMA bodies in charge of the tasks in this priority area, especially for the committee for cooperation in the area of electronics, to strive to perfect cooperation, focus efforts primarily on priority problems, eliminate existing parallelism in cooperation, and increase the efficiency of all activities. Emphasizing the particular importance Romania continues to attach to coordinating plans—as a main method of economic organizations and cooperation, and of deepening the division of labor among the CEMA member countries—the speaker said: Positively assessing the work done so far, the Romanian delegation agrees with the adoption of the Program for Coordinating the Economic Plans of the CEMA Member Countries in the 1991-95 period and with the list of questions connected with economic cooperation, which are coordinated on a multilateral basis. We can note that the list of questions regarding economic cooperation includes an important number of ventures and that Romania is interested in participating in almost 120 of them. At the same time, we believe that the program for plan coordination and the list of questions regarding economic cooperation are completed in accordance with the long-term programs for the CEMA countries' multilateral production sharing and specialization up to the year 2000 in the area of machine-building, radio-technical, and chemical industries. In keeping with the session resolution, we believe that it is necessary for the CEMA member countries to take account of the provisions of these plan coordination programs in the 1991-95 period. The extent of Romania's participation in the three programs is reflected by the fact that we are participating in the manufacture of 210 products or groups of products.

It is necessary and opportune for the council bodies and international economic organizations of our countries to move immediately to examine the problems connected with formulating the cooperation documents on schedule, so that the commitments made can be taken into account when formulating the draft national economic plans for the 1991-95 Five-Year Plan. In this respect we agree with the provision in the draft resolution which puts forward the task that the countries or organizations in charge of coordinating work should be specified for all cooperation ventures and that deadlines for finalizing draft conventions and other cooperation documents should be established by the end of this year.

Taking account of the fact that during the formulation of the long-term programs other proposals aimed at expanding production specialization were also made but have not been agreed upon yet, we deem it useful to continue work within the CEMA bodies to clarify those problems and complete programs, so that they may be taken into account when coordinating plans and when concluding the conventions on specialization in the 1991-95 period.

In accordance with the documents that are being examined, the work of coordinating economic plans on a multilateral basis for the next 5-year plan must be finalized by the end of 1989, while the work of coordinating plans on a bilateral basis should be completed by the end of the first half year of 1990, so that the signing of the respective documents for the 1991-95 period may follow in the third and fourth quarters of 1990.

We believe that we have to take firm action to avoid any delays and even measures to get ahead of the negotiations. As far as we are concerned, we are interested in speeding up the plan coordination work with the other CEMA member countries and to begin negotiations as soon as possible to agree on exchanges of goods and on the main production sharing and specialization ventures in the 1991-95 period.

In connection with the plan coordinating work in the coming 5-year plan, I want to point out some aspects to which our country attaches particular importance. First, as was established in the previous session, the negotiations on plan coordination will continue to be held under the direct control of central planning bodies, because they are responsible for organizing the drafting of plans and are the only ones to make—under the direct guidance and coordination of the party and state leadership in each country—clearcut pledges when the draft national plan is being formulated. Certainly, other central bodies, as well as industrial departments or large economic units should be involved in the plan coordinating work. Second, we believe that it is very important that, during the plan coordinating work, the list and amount of mutual deliveries for all commodities of mutual interest be agreed upon. Third, it is opportune to pay special attention—even in the first stage of the plan coordination work—to agreeing on the deliveries included in the accords and conventions regarding production sharing and specialization and in the long-term programs and understandings on cooperation in the area of raw materials, fuels, and other products in shortage.

Among the main problems which have to be solved are meeting the CEMA member countries' requirements for fuel, energy, and raw materials, and intensifying cooperation to ensure proper supplies of agricultural produce and foodstuffs.

The speaker then spoke about some problems regarding the formulation of a collective concept of the socialist international division of labor in 1991-2005, stressing that, in accordance with the main targets stipulated by this concept, our party and state believe that expanding mutual cooperation and the international division of labor among the CEMA member countries should result in a balanced growth of the national economies, in better meeting the needs for energy, fuels, materials, and other products in shortage, and in perfecting production sharing and specialization and the complete utilization of the productive and scientific-technical potential available in each country. Romania believes that in order to achieve these targets, it is necessary to move, without delay, to preparing the programs, conventions, and actions regarding production sharing and specialization.

In conclusion, the speaker expressed the Romanian delegation's agreement with the session's draft resolution presented by the council's Executive Committee. At the same time, the speaker expressed the Romanian delegation's warm thanks to the hosts, the CSSR Government, and to Comrade Lubomir Strougal for the hospitality enjoyed and the conditions created to ensure the proper progress of the proceedings of the 44th CEMA session.

Strougal Gives Speech

AU1307173188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 88 p 1

[RUDE PRAVO/CTK report: "44th CEMA Meeting Ends; Collective Concept of Division of Labor in 1991-2005 Adopted; CEMA Countries' National Economy Plans for the Next 5-Year Period to be Coordinated on Its Basis; Member Countries (Except Romania) to Gradually Create Conditions for a Uniform Socialist Market; Comprehensive Cooperation Between European CEMA Countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia Approved; Bulgarian Representative Elected Executive Committee Chairman for the Coming Period; Lubomir Strougal Delivers Concluding Speech"—boldface passages as published]

[Excerpt] Prague—[Passage omitted] L. Strougal's Speech at the Conclusion of the Session [subhead]

The 44th CEMA meeting is about to be concluded. We have adopted a number of decisions, which are an expression of the new approaches to the shaping of a new model of international socialist division of labor, and to developing the restructuring of the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration.

The course of this meeting was influenced by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has also provided new incentives for CEMA's activities. This was made obvious by the statements of several heads of delegations, and specifically expressed in the demand for more dynamic and offensive progress.

An objective analysis of the development of our community in the past 2 years shows that **the rate of growth of our mutual trade has slowed, that international specialization and cooperation in production are developing insufficiently**, and that the process of applying scientific-technical knowledge in production is also slow. We are particularly lagging behind the world in the pivotal branches of the key sphere, i.e. the development of science and technology. This situation demands a radical turn, and quicker progress in restructuring the mechanism of cooperation, because we can no longer make do with merely improving the existing mechanism.

The basic approach to the restructuring of this mechanism must lie in consistent respect for the **objective economic laws** governing the socialist production of goods, in their purposeful (and, if you prefer, planned) use. We do know that to underestimate the role of goods-money relations would adversely affect the international socialist division of labor, and also our cooperation.

Like certain other countries, we are convinced that no significant progress can be attained without a consistent development of realistic goods-money relations between the member countries. We most urgently need realistic domestic and contractual prices, rates of exchange, interest rates, and so forth. It is only with the aid of economic cooperation that we can motivate and stimulate the states and their economic organizations to strive to raise the technical-economic standards of productions and products, to develop mutually advantageous direct relations, and—on a long-term basis—to establish a uniform market.

It is an illusion that one can restructure the international system of management without the appropriate basic changes in the national mechanisms.

We have also come to the conclusion that **all levels and forms of cooperation should have a uniform international mechanism.** This fully applies to the implementation of the Collective Concept of International Socialist Division of Labor, which reflects the basic development trends in production, but also in the tertiary sphere and computer science. This document will have to be elaborated in greater detail, so that we can harmonize the specialization profiles of individual national economies. At the same time we unconditionally agree that **our socialist market must be built in collaboration with the world economy**, i.e. the national markets must be gradually filled and opened, and all autarchical trends overcome.

The contents of the adopted documents, Lubomir Strougal continued, are the first step toward overcoming the current trends; consistently implemented in practice, they will be a platform which, if it is systematically elaborated and implemented, will enable us to establish programs resulting in a comprehensive upsurge that will let us find our place in the world.

Our meeting has welcomed the establishment of official relations between our organization and the EEC. This is a significant step in the all-European cooperation, one which places new demands on our activity, which must be increasingly assessed from the viewpoint of the all-European and world development.

We view positively the adopted **Special Programs of Assistance to the Republic of Cuba, the People's Republic of Mongolia, and the SRV.**

In our deliberations we expressed concern about the progressively deteriorating economic situation of developing countries in the world; we support their efforts to establish a new international economic system.

In this context I would like to thank the representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua, and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia for their energetic participation. We are prepared to adopt measures for expanding cooperation with the developing countries and improving the activities of our mixed commissions.

Our deliberations were businesslike, and all issues and problems were considered in a comradely atmosphere and with mutual understanding.

I cordially thank the heads and members of the delegations, as well as their advisers for their fruitful contribution to the course and conclusions of our meeting. We also appreciate the great work accomplished in this respect by the CEMA agencies and Secretariat.

Permit me to say in conclusion that we greatly respect the expressions of appreciation which have been addressed to the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people. We understand them as an incentive for further efforts to intensify the unity of our community, our friendship and mutual understanding, and as an incentive to undertake specific steps to implement the resolution adopted by the CEMA at its 44th session in Prague, Lubomir Strougal stated.

Hungarian Defense Minister Interviewed in Zagreb

LD1207161288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Zagreb, July 11 (TANJUG)—Within the context and process of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on limiting military potentials in Europe, it is realistic to imagine a limitation of Soviet units in our country, Hungarian Defence Minister Col-Gen. Ferenc Karpati said in an interview to the Zagreb weekly DANAS.

In the first interview to a foreign journal, Karpati gave an assessment of the Army's role in Hungary's political life, and spoke of Hungary's stand on the Warsaw Treaty, its stand on questions of disarmament and relations with neighbouring Romania and Yugoslavia.

Karpati, 62, was formerly secretary of the Hungarian People's Army party commission and head of its political administration. He was appointed defence minister in 1986.

Gen. Karpati stressed that the Hungarian Army supports the reforms which are being implemented and said that his country has understood the mistakes made in the past when it automatically copied the models of other countries. He also said the serious mistakes resulted in the events of 1956 and the Soviet military intervention. Hungary's perestroyka began over that decade.

Explaining Hungary's military doctrine, he said that Hungary has its own national doctrine which reflects the goals Hungary wishes to attain within the Warsaw Treaty. The doctrine is based on the elements of preventing aggression and avoiding war.

Karpati assessed the Soviet-U.S. accord on Euro-missiles as important and said that Hungary believes that attention should now be devoted to limiting conventional arms.

He said there is a tendency in NATO circles to modernize conventional forces, but said his country was opposed to this. Hungary plans to take no such steps as they are contrary to Hungary's concept of security.

He further said that Hungary has no MiG-29 aircraft or T-84 tanks and said it had no plans to change to smaller-calibre infantry weapons.

Speaking of Hungary's relations with its neighbours, Karpati said cooperation with Romania on the military level was good, but that problems existed in other areas. We do not wish to aggravate our relations with Romania and hope they will in future be resolved in a civilized manner, he said.

Asked what steps Hungary would take if Yugoslavia was attacked by NATO forces, he said that any aggression against Yugoslavia, Hungary's non-aligned neighbour, would also pose a threat to Hungary. This means that Hungary would take joint military steps with its allies which would ensure the defence of Hungary's borders and Yugoslavia's self-defence." [quotation mark as received]

Karpati said that Hungarian aid would depend on the political leadership of the brotherly socialist Yugoslavia, on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Government, and on the type and amount of aid sought. The country's military potential (the Hungarian National Army) is adjusted to the defence of Hungarian territory, and military assistance would be implemented from this aspect.

However, the Yugoslav Army is strong and its units are capable of independently and successfully stopping any aggression on its territory, Karpati said.

Children's Assembly Opens in Sofia

AU1007155088 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1458 GMT on 10 July begins a live relay from the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture in Sofia of the opening of the Fourth International Banner of Peace Children's Assembly.

The unnamed woman commentator describes the hall filled with children's delegations from throughout the world. At 1500 GMT she announces that "at this moment Comrade Todor Zhivkov and other party and state leaders are taking their place in the official box," to the sound of rather scattered applause. A children's choir then performs an unidentified song. Two unidentified children then greet the participants in the assembly in Bulgarian and other languages, welcome the attending cosmonauts from the second Soviet-Bulgarian space flight, and read greetings messages from other world figures, including Gorbachev and De Cuellar, who support the Banner of Peace children's movement.

At 1507 GMT Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, takes the floor to loud applause and officially opens the assembly as follows:

"Dear children, esteemed guests, it gives me great joy and pleasure to open the Fourth International Assembly 'Banner of Labor,' er, [Zhivkov corrects himself] 'Banner of Peace Sofia '88.' All success!"

The children's choir then gives a festive concert, and the live relay ends at 1530 GMT.

Zhivkov Greetings

AU1207160288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 July 88 p 1

[Greetings message delivered by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, at the opening of the fourth international "Banner of Peace" children's assembly on 10 July 1988 at the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture in Sofia]

[Text] Dear children, welcome to Bulgaria! The bells at the foot of Vitosha Mountain will once more ring and call on you. The irresistible motto of the fourth international "Banner of Peace" children's assembly will once more be heard in all languages: "Unity, Creativity, and Beauty!"

We are looking forward to the forthcoming 10 exciting days. Throughout these 10 days you will paint fairy-tale suns that will never fade, you will sing songs and recite poems, which do not need to be translated, you will once more demonstrate with your own cheerful laughter the happiness of living in a world of creativity and friendship, of peace, and comradely relations among nations. Your Bulgarian friends have been impatiently looking forward to this meeting with you. They prepared themselves for this meeting for a long time and with great zeal.

Dear young friends, you should know that Bulgaria will always affectionately follow your careers as future creators of material and intellectual values, and will sincerely rejoice at your development as grown-up people—as citizens of your respective countries, as sons and daughters of all mankind.

I believe that you will learn to love Bulgaria and its industrious and hospitable people.

With all my heart and soul I wish "good luck" to all participants, guests, and organizers of the fourth international "Banner of Peace—Sofia '88" children's assembly.

Zhivkov Receives Guests

AU1207162688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jul 88 p 1

[BTA Report: "Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Reception"]

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a reception on 10 July for the honorary guests and members of the international initiative committee for the fourth "Banner of Peace" children's assembly. He cordially welcomed the well-known public figures, scientists, and creative artists who came to our country to share the humanitarian ideas of the "Banner of Peace" movement which originated in Bulgaria.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who is the honorary patron of the assembly, stressed that the movement for unity, creativity, and beauty which rallies the young inhabitants of our planet in our country today will be appreciated from now on. The aspirations of these young people are in full accordance with the present-day ideals of mankind for a peaceful world.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the guests a useful and pleasant stay in the homeland of the children's assembly.

The reception proceeded in an exceptionally cordial atmosphere.

Honecker Message

LD1007015288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2227 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 10 Jul 88 (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent a message of greetings to the participants in the fourth international childrens assembly "Banner of Peace" in Sofia.

The fourth international childrens assembly takes place in politically dynamic times, the main concern of which is a peaceful and secure present and future for humanity.

The delegates of the young generation of many countries are assured in the message that they will continue to be supported with all their strength by the GDR and its youth in their efforts for peace, disarmament, and detente.

A world free from nuclear weapons, in which nations live together in peace and cooperate in friendship, closely corresponds to the interests of children and young people and their longings for and expectations of a life with a sense to it. The fourth international childrens' assembly, which brings together children from all over the world and gives them opportunities to test their creative gifts and talents in the areas of art and literature, science and technology, as well as together in sports and games, was an important building block for peaceful prospects for humanity. It is among the series of worldwide events of the democratic youth and childrens' movement in preparation for the 13th world festival of youth and students in the summer of 1989 in Pyongyang in the spirit of peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist soldiarity.

Cuko, Mustaqi Awarded Order of the Flag

AU0707183788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Comrades Lenka Cuko and Kico Mustaqi are awarded the high award of Order of the Flag.

A ceremony was organized this morning at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, in order to present the high decoration of Order of the Flag, which the Presidium of the People's Assembly has awarded upon the proposal of the AWP Central Committee Politburo, to Comrade Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary to the AWP Central Committee, on the occasion of her fiftieth birthday, and to Comrade Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff of the Army, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the formation of our People's Army.

Taking part were Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo members; Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members; Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and chairman of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front; members of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Government; managing cadres of the central mass organizations; and working people in the apparatus of the AWP Central Committee and the Ministry of People's Defense.

Comrade Ramiz Alia delivered a speech marking the occasion, and pointed out among other things the contribution made by Comrade Lenka Cuko to the cause of the people and of socialism, the successful struggle she has waged as a Communist and leader, the role she has played in the progress of our socialist homeland, and the work she has done to strengthen the economy and culture and increase the guiding role of the party in the entire life of the country. Comrade Lenka, he stressed, belongs to the generation of cadres that the party has trained in the post-liberation years, who have been forged on the anvil of labor for great transformations, and who belong to the generation that bore and still bears upon its shoulders the great burden of socialist construction, as defenders of the victories that have been achieved under the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist siege and blockade. She was forged as a revolutionary leader and became a distinguished activist in the bosom of the masses, working and fighting wherever the party directed her with exemplary determination and a high sense of responsibility to overcome difficulties and perform her duties. In pursuit of the performance of the important tasks which the party sets cadres, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, she studied and mastered the Marxist-Leninist line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha with unflagging will, and has struggled with dedication to bring these worthily to life.

Comrade Ramiz Alia then spoke about the work of Comrade Kico Mustaqi, and stressed that the party appreciates highly his help in strengthening and modernizing the Army and in raising its standards of military preparedness. We all know Comrade Kico, he said, as a tireless worker, an able commander and organizer, with high expectations of himself and others. With these qualities, in all the duties with which the party and people have entrusted him, he has been outstanding for communist straightforwardness and a high sense of responsibility. It is a great pleasure, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, to see a comrade of the caliber of Comrade Kico at the head of the army, alongside other comrades of his age, that the party has raised and trained with special care, and who are outstanding for their loyalty to the people, for their militant spirit in the correct implementation of the party's line, and their determination in the defense of the freedom and independence of the homeland.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed the wish that they would always wear their decorations with honor, and that they should always enjoy perfect health, for the good of the party and the people, and of their families. Comrade Ramiz Alia then presented them with their high honors.

Comrade Lenka Cuko, after thanking the party for the honor and its sign of appreciation, said that she would always work and remain loyal and consistent to the correct line of our party, to the teachings and brilliant and unforgettable achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the instructions and advice of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Receiving his high decoration, Comrade Kico Mustaqi said among other things that he would devote all his physical and mental energies unstintingly to the service of the party's cause, to the defense and consistent implementation of its line, and to the teachings of our commander-in-chief, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

The ceremony took place in an atmosphere of good cheer.

Zhivkov Meets USSR Glavkosmos Chief Dunayev

AU0707143388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received yesterday Aleksandr Dunayev, chief of the USSR Glavkosmos and leader of the Soviet delegation visiting Bulgaria on the occasion of the successful conclusion of the second Soviet-Bulgarian space flight.

The high evaluation of the space crew's work during the flight was confirmed during the talk, and information on the further development of Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation in space research was exchanged.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

New Relations Between State, Enterprise Viewed

AU1207170988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jul 88 p 4

["Commentary" by Senior Scientific Fellow Nikolay Krustev: "Preferred and Favored Activity, Given Purely Economic Relations Between the State and the Enterprise"]

[Text] Restructuring is gaining pace in the management of the national economy. A complex process is under way of transition from predominantly administrative to predominantly economic means and approaches for the state organs, empowered by society, the owner, to exert influence on the labor collectives of the enterprises—the manager of socialist property.

The state order as a means of exerting economic influence holds an appropriate place in the package of economic conditions, regulations, and regulators. According to the theory of economic restructuring, it represents either the production of products with attractive economic parameters and a guaranteed sale, or the creation and marketing of scientific-technical products of great social importance. A competition to win the state order should be organized between interested producers of goods, and the winner should sign a contract with the state. The goods producer then independently organizes the whole of his economic activity to fulfill the order, and enters into interrelationships with other goods producers on a purely economic basis, without seeking any protection or other form of "special" influence on the part of the state.

In the course of the transition toward establishing purely economic interrelationships between both the state and the goods producers, and between the self-managing economic organizations, the state order continues to be administrative and directive in nature, devoid of any economic backing or attraction. It is accepted in reality as administrative compulsion. As a means of exerting administrative influence, it will continue in the future to act as a tool in the hands of the state to overcome supply shortages in certain spheres and to regulate the requirements and the achievements of individual goods producers. When our economy attains a high degree of development and the quality and competitiveness of our products approach and draw level with those of the developed countries, the state order will lose its administrative-compulsive nature. It will increasingly become a preferred and favored activity that brings considerable economic or scientific-technical benefit to the manager-collectives, the state-owner, and the whole of society.

However, even during the transition period the administrative-compulsive nature of the state order may and should be relaxed. First and foremost, when any state order is placed a dialogue should obligatorily take place during the preplan period between the state planning organ and the goods-producing enterprise, that is, between the placer of the order and its executor. An increasing proportion of state orders should be placed through a vertical contract which, being a contract, presupposes equal partnership between the parties possessing rights, obligations and responsibilities. Any failure to fulfill the contractual obligations will require bringing the mechanism of full contractual responsibility into effect.

These are the categorical requirements of the Code for Economic Activity, which "tomorrow" will also become law.

Further Reportage on Hungary's Lukacs Visit

Holds Talks With Jakes, Hoffman

LD0407231088 Budapest MTI in English
1912 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, July 4 (MTI)—Janos Lukacs, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, who is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was seen by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At the meeting they discussed the contemporary tasks of the HSWP and the CPC in socialist construction work and reviewed the successfully developing relations of the two parties.

Janos Lukacs had a working discussion with Karel Hoffman, secretary of the CPC CC.

Ends Visit 6 Jul

LD0707092488 Budapest MTI in English
1951 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia visited Czechoslovakia on July 4-6. He was seen by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The secretary of the HSWP CC held negotiations, in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, with Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and secretary of the Central Commitee. He informed his host on the measures taken for the implementation of the decisions taken at the HSWP National Conference and was informed on the contemporary tasks facing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regarding the democratization and transformation of Czechoslovakian social-economic life. The secretaries of the HSWP CC and CPC CC reviewed the relations of the two parties and pointed out that the cooperation between the parties develops successfully.

The Hungarian guest visited the Prague committee of the CPC where Miroslav Stepan, the first secretary of the party committee informed him on the results of the work of the Communists of the Czechoslovakian capital and the tasks they are facing.

Janos Lukacs visited Pozsony (Bratislava) where he had a cordial and friendly discussion with Ignac Janak, member of the CPC CC Presidium and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. He also met Miloslav Hruskovic and Ivan Knotek, secretaries of the CC of the CPS. At the Pozsony (Bratislavia) committee of the CPS he was informed on the work and the contemporary tasks of the party commitee. He visited the editorial offices of "PRAVDA" (Pozsony/Bratislava) and the "UJ SZO" (New World) which is the Hungarian language paper of the CPS CC. He studied the major directions of the activity of the Communists working at the two dailies including the contemporary tasks of the editorial office of the "US SZO" related to providing information to the Hungarian nationals in Slovakia. He also visited the construction of the Bos water plant.

During his programme the HSWP CC secretary was accompanied in Prague by Miklos Barity, the ambassador of Hungary to Prague and in Pozsony (Bratislava) by Jozsef Toth, the local Hungarian consul-general.

Janos Lukacs and his party returned to Hungary on Wednesday evening.

GDR's Mueckenberger Pays Official Visit

Visits Slovak Region

LD0707111888 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1930 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] The SED Central Party Control Commission delegation, headed by its chairman, Erich Mueckenberger, today visited the central Slovak region. It familarized itself with the economic and social development of central Slovakia and with the topical tasks of the regional party organization following the 17th CPCZ Congress. Afterward, the GDR guests visited Slovenka Banska Bystrica national enterprise and viewed the museum of the Slovak national uprising. In the evening the SED Central Party Control Commission delegation left for Prague.

Holds Talks With Jakes

LD0907195188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes met today with Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and chairman of its Central Party Control Commission, who is heading the delegation which has been in Czechoslovakia on a working visit. In a comradely and friendly talk, the two officials of the fraternal countries briefed one another on the political and economic situation in their countries and exchanged experiences in fulfilling the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ and 11th SED Congresses, particularly in terms of party activity and applying its supervisory funciton.

ADN Report

LD0807132488 East German ADN International Service
in German 1218 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 8 Jul (ADN)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission in the SED Central Committee, for a friendly talk. Erich Mueckenberger conveyed warm greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were cordially reciprocated.

Milos Jakes outlined current questions concerning the social development of the CSSR, particularly the implementation of the party decisions in the economic sphere. He explained basic changes in connection with improved utilization of the potential of socialism and scientific-technical progress. Milos Jakes referred to the great importance of ideological work in the further shaping of socialist society and peace preservation. He praised the good state of the close and trusting cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples.

Erich Mueckenberger outlined the results of the sixth SED Central Committee session, and the efforts of the GDR working people in the further implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the tasks of the economic plan.

The two sides concurred in stressing the international importance of the Berlin meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones, and described it as a good basis for the continuation of political dialogue. There must be no pause in the struggle to strengthen peace. The establishment of a zone of trust and cooperation in the heart of Europe was an important step in this.

The two sides underlined the important role of cooperation between the socialist countries. The militant alliance between the GDR and the CSSR, which has grown over decades and must be further strengthened, formed a basis for solving tasks confronting the two countries. The March meeting between Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes held in Berlin produced decisive impulses for this.

Cooperation With USSR in Engineering Discussed

AU1407082088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Discussing Production Specialization With the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Prague—Ladislav Gerle, CSSR minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical engineering, and Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, conferred in Prague on Wednesday [6 July] with Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Vladislav Kolesnikov, USSR minister of electronics industry.

They discussed cooperation in engineering, the aviation industry, and electronics during the coming period. The Czechoslovak side submitted proposals on the further course of mutual exchanges of commodities and on production specialization in the coming years, including pricing issues which have frequently proved so far to be an obstacle in improving the efficiency of production specialization.

Jakes Congratulates LCY's Suvar on Election

AU0607094588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 88 p 1

["z"-signed report: "Congratulations to SFRY"]

[Text] Prague— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has sent to Stipe Suvar a telegram congratulating him on his election as president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. The telegram expresses the conviction that the relations between the CPCZ and the LCY will continue to develop and expand in the interest of the further deepening of the traditional friendship of the nations of the two socialist countries, the cause of peace and socialism in the world.

CPCZ-SPD Team Discusses Environmental Issues

AU0607100988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Interest in Joint Solution of Environmental Issues"]

[Text] Prague— The third session of the joint CPCZ-SPD working group for environmental issues was held in Prague on 27-30 June on the basis of a CPCZ-SPD agreement. The CPCZ delegation was headed by Vladimir Vedra, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Chamber of the People, and the SPD delegation was headed by Harald Schaefer, deputy chairman of the SPD group in the FRG Bundestag.

In their discussions, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, the two delegations briefed one another on the activity and stances of their parties on this problem and exchanged experience in solving ecological problems connected with the improvement of the protection and creation of the environment. A positive role in that sphere is played by the FRG-CSSR Agreement in the Sphere of the Environment, the Development of Direct Cooperation and Collaboration Between Production Enterprises, including an Advantageous Credit Policy.

During a visit to the Most district, appreciation was expressed for the activity connected with the recultivation of exhausted coal mining areas. During a visit to the Dukovany Nuclear Power Plant, the delegations acknowledged the measures adopted for the safe operation of nuclear power plants in accordance with IAEA recommendations. Views differ regarding the further use of nuclear energy. In Velke Bilovice the delegations acquainted themselves with ecological measures in agriculture, especially in connection with soil protection and integrated plant protection.

The CPCZ-SPD working group noted that the solution of problems connected with the environment is closely connected with issues of maintaining peace, strengthening international security, and disarmament. It stressed the need to make use of the positive tendencies in the disarmament issue and in other spheres of international relations in order to achieve progress in the ecological sphere. Within the framework of efforts to create a Europe of peace and cooperation, to build a common European home, in which there would prevail an atmosphere of good neighborly relations, trust, and mutual understanding, one regards it necessary to work out a program of joint actions on a bilateral and multilateral basis. This program would concern the following spheres:

—the exchange of scientific and technical information and experience on environmental protection,

—the exchange and transfer of technologies for environmental protection,

—the advance mutual notification of planned construction of larger industrial projects which could have an influence on the purity of the environment of the interested states,

—cooperation in reporting and eliminating ecological disasters,

—the gradual interconnection of the power systems of the neighboring countries with the prospect of building an integrated power system,

—the conclusion of treaties in the sphere of nuclear radiation safety, cooperation in the sphere of joint development, and such like.

The CPCZ-SPD working group reaffirmed its determination to actively help to resolve urgent problems connected with the environment, and develop a broad cooperation also with other parties in this important sphere of international relations.

Progress Reported in Talks With EC Commission

LD0907041588 Prague CTK in English
1620 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—The fourth round of the discussions between representatives of the Commission of the European Communities and the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry on an agreement on trade in industrial products ended here today. The delegations have reached progress in negotiations on the removal of obstacles impeding the conclusion of the agreement which is to contribute to an increase in mutual trade exchange between Czechoslovakia and the EEC and lead to the creation of the first official mixed body between Czechoslovakia and the EEC which will deal with the development of economic cooperation between them.

The agreement falls within the process of consolidation of CMEA-EEC relations.

Working Visit of Mongolia's Sodnom Summarized

AU0807103788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak-Mongolian Talks"]

[Text] Prague—Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], arrived for a friendly working visit in the CSSR on Saturday [2 July] at the invitation of CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal. Heading the MPR delegation, he will take part in the 44th CEMA session. On the Mongolian guest's Sunday [3 July] agenda were talks with Comrade Lubomir Strougal, the visit to the National Memorial at Zizkov hill in Prague, and a gala dinner, at which the two statesmen spoke.

During the working talk of the CSSR and MPR delegations in Hrzane Palace, the premiers briefed one another on the course of restructuring in their two fraternal countries. In this connection they stressed the exceptional importance of the concluded 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which provided a number of impetuses for radical changes in the political and economic sphere in the USSR, which however, will also influence the processes of democratization and spiritual renewal throughout the socialist community. The two statesmen agreed that it is necessary to proceed in this spirit in mutual cooperation and assert influence on the orientation of CEMA, which is to adopt important decisions on the integration process on the way toward creating a common market at its 44th session, which is to be held in Prague.

Lubomir Strougal underscored the high standard of political relations between our states, which had been further developed by the recent talks of the general secretaries of the fraternal parties, Milos Jakes and Jambyn Batmonh, in Ulaanbaatar. At the same time he proposed intensifying cultural and information exchanges in order to get to know one another better. He devoted a substantial part of his speech to economic cooperation which, from a long-term point of view, has been achieving good results, particularly in the leather-processing and ore-extraction industries, in which our first joint venture operates. He proposed utilizing all experience of economic cooperation, and developing it further on the strict principle of mutual advantageousness and effectiveness. In this, one could make use of modern forms of cooperation, including joint ventures, not only in assimilating, extracting, and processing raw materials, but also in the footwear industry, ready-made leather garments, and in the chemical industry. He proposed expanding scientific-technical cooperation, and strictly differentiating between trade and economic cooperation and the assistance which we will continue to provide to Mongolia.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom highly valued the results of mutual cooperation and the assistance provided by Czechoslovakia to the MPR. He stressed his government's interest in expanding cooperation and joint ventures. He promised to study our proposals for exploiting the new deposits—especially of tin, tungsten, and molybdenum—discovered by Czechoslovak geologists. At the same time he proposed expanding cooperation in engineering, particularly in the production of agricultural machinery.

In conclusion of their talks, the premiers exchanged views on the international situation. They agreed that positive changes in peace-related issues [mirove usporadani] and in disarmament have occurred in the world, distinctly influenced by the dynamic policy of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. They mutually expressed support for the initiatives of their governments pertaining to European and Asian problems. They spoke, in particular, about the importance of the proposal on the establishment of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, submitted by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. In this connection Lubomir Strougal underscored our interest in a successful conclusion of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna, and Dumaagiyn Sodnom the need for generally calming the situation in Asia and the Pacific region.

The talks were attended by Ladislav Gerle, CSSR minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry; Jan Strba, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Jaromir Nehera, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; Jiri Nemec, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade; Josef Pravda, chairman of the Czech Geological Office; and Dusan Rozbora, CSSR ambassador to the MPR. For the Mongolian side, the talks were attended by Choynoryn Suren, deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers and minister of light industry; Dasdordzin Chadchu [name as published], deputy chairman of the State Committee for Planning and Economy; Gombosurengyin Dashdabaa, MPR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Yondongiyn Ochir, MPR ambassador to the CSSR.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom paid a visit to the National Memorial at Zizkov hill in Prague on Sunday [3 July]. By laying a wreath at the Tomb of Unknown Warrior he paid respect to his memory.

Lubomir Struogal gave an official dinner at Cernin Palace in honor of Dumaagiyn Sodnom. The dinner was attended also by Comrades Rudolf Rohlicek, Ladislav Adamec, Matej Lucan, Jaromir Obzina, and other representatives. Members of Dumaagiyn Sodnom's retinue were also present.

L. Strougal and D. Sodnom delivered speeches during the dinner.

Comrade Lubomir Strougal's Speech [subhead]

Permit me once more to welcome you to summertime Prague, which, precisely at this moment, also is becoming the site for the deliberations of prominent CEMA representatives, who are arriving to attend the 44th session, of which we expect so much. We welcome you on behalf of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; CSSR President Gustav Husak; and on behalf of the federal government. I believe that we will succeed in returning the hospitality which you offered us in your beautiful country 3 years ago, and to our highest party delegation last May.

We are meeting for working talks in a very agitated period, full of hopes, but also of determined plans to strengthen socialism, which are to provide for the future a principled orientation for our parties and countries, actually for the entire socialist community. They are to make the process of revolutionary restructuring irreversible, as Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, when he demanded verifiable deeds pertaining to democratization, economic reform, and spiritual renewal of the whole of society. This is how simple our objectives are, objectives determined by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the subsequent sessions of the Central Committee, but also your party's 19th Congress. We have no other choice but to follow that path and prove with noble deeds that we are worthy of the revolutionary traditions of our forbearers, the founders of the movement, which Bohumir Smeral, well known to you, personified for us in our mutual relations.

In this connection I remind with pleasure that the contribution of your people to the establishment of the "Revolutionary Mongolia" tank column and the "Mongolian Ararat" air wing, which during World War II—within the framework of the Red Army—contributed to the liberation of Czechoslovakia and the memory of which will never be forgotten, are inscribed with golden letters in the long road of our cooperation.

We have been closely cooperating in the peace program for the construction of socialism in our countries for decades. Regardless of the great geographical distances, actually across two continents, we have discovered many common interests and created the tradition of friendship, in full accordance with the spirit of the treaty of friendship and cooperation, which will be 15 years old this year. Our communist parties are mutually close, the governments know one another well, and officials from the sphere of culture, education, and science, but also industry and trade representatives know one another well. These are the representatives who drew up the Long-Term Program for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Through the Year 2000, freshly enriched by the stimuli arising from the talks between Comrades Milos Jakes and Jambyn Batmonh in Ulaanbaatar.

We know one another well, we know what our national economies need, what road to follow tomorrow. All the more so we are dissatisfied with the actually stagnating trade turnover and the meager results of cooperation and joint ventures. Czechoslovakia and Mongolia provided an example with the Mongolczechoslovakmetal joint venture already in 1979. But we have not made any further progress. Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that we still have not asserted the principles of profitability, and of effectiveness in general, of its operation. At the same time we can increase trade turnover more substantially only by means of cooperations and joint ventures, for example, also in the leather-processing industry. I am sure I do not have to keep on convincing you about the profound Czechoslovak interest to follow this path in the future, and make better use of the discoveries of Czechoslovak geologists in your country, as well as of the footwear industry traditions. Esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers, I can assure you that the Czechoslovak Government will continue assisting—within its ability—with the realization of the objectives of socialist construction in your country with specialists from all branches and by setting up further productions. We have also decided to participate in the implementation of the Special Comprehensive CEMA Program, which is to be approved. However, at the same time we want to say that our cooperation must continue to be truly effective, abiding by the principles of mutual advantageousness, principles which we assert in our community, in the spirit of the traditions of friendship which unite us.

We are behaving toward each other frankly and in a friendly manner, as has always been the habit, and we believe that further Czechoslovak-Mongolian cooperation will be successful—thanks to the favorable developments in the world. After many years we have many reasons to look forward to the future with optimism. Last year's Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles showed us the path to take to rid the world of the nuclear threat. The recent meeting of the highest representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States has increased hope too. Yes, politicians are increasingly abiding by principles of common sense and the nations of our planet want to co-decide their fate. Despite that, as the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament revealed, the longer and, obviously, more difficult part of the journey is still ahead of us. Many obstacles remain to be dealt with, and many statesmen remain to be persuaded that new thinking is not just words, but deeds, without which we will not resolve a single global problem on our planet.

Our countries—one from the heart of Europe and the other from the bosom of Asia—have proved many times that they long ago comprehended the principle of indivisible peace in a nuclear age. Therefore, we have been contributing to the process of a lasting peace arrangement of the world to the best of our ability. In recent years, Czechoslovakia has come forward with several initiatives for partial disarmament steps in central Europe, with the latest one last February—with a universal project for cooperation and neighborly coexistence along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. Our opinion, namely, is that any, even a small step forward today could fundamentally change the international situation to the greatest extent tomorrow. Here is our chance, but also responsibility.

On this occasion I want to thank the MPR Council of Ministers for its support for Czechoslovak proposals and, at the same time, express the appreciation for your endeavor aimed at improving the conditions of the largest continent. We absolutely agree with you in pressing for the Convention on Mutual Nonaggression and Non-Use of Force in Relations Among the States of Asia and the Pacific Region. We believe that just as Europe got its [Helsinki] Final Act, which is to be significantly expanded at the ongoing follow-up meeting in Vienna, Asia will get its peace pact.

Comrade Dumaagiyn Sodnom's Speech [subhead]

Permit me, first of all, to thank the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and, personally, you, esteemed Comrade Strougal, for the invitation to pay a friendly working visit to the fraternal CSSR, for the opportunity to acquaint myself with the wealth of experience from and successes in socialist construction in your beautiful country, and for the warm and friendly reception.

Our visit is taking place in a momentous period, when the Mongolian and the Czechoslovak people are implementing profound and extensive tasks of renewal and restructuring, determined by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and the CPCZ, immediately after the meeting of the general secretaries of our parties, Jambyn Batmonh and Milos Jakes.

The countries of the socialist community are currently resolving tasks connected with the acceleration of social and economic development, and with a fuller utilization of the creative potential of socialism. In our country a process of economic revival and of the development of socialist democracy is under way, oriented toward economic methods of management, toward ensuring the independence of enterprises and comprehensive development of the activity of the members of society. This process is of crucial importance for discovering and utilizing untapped potential, for carrying out the most important task—accelerating the MPR's economic and social development.

The experience from restructuring in the USSR and the other fraternal countries, including the CSSR, are our model when implementing the policy of renewal and democratization. We are inspired by the ideas and conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which are giving us new energy to implement the important tasks connected with the development of socialism.

The Mongolian people derive sincere pleasure from the successes achieved by the fraternal Czechoslovak people in the implementation of the extensive tasks connected with the further prosperity of their fatherland.

The traditional friendship of the Mongolian and Czechoslovak people, which has been strengthening from one day to another, is the foundation of the fact that the cooperation between the two countries in all spheres of social life will be more effective, more pragmatic, and richer.

The recent official friendly visit by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to our country, the chats and talks of the highest officials of the two sides have become a mighty impetus for the further expansion and deepening of the traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Mongolian and Czechoslovak people.

The individual characteristics of socialist construction in our countries in the current stage command us to further expand mutual economic and scientific-technical cooperation. There is untapped potential and possibilities for this. The important thing now is to jointly seek and determine ways of their correct and rational utilization.

Today we exchanged views on concrete measures to implement the themes concerning bilateral cooperation, which arose from the talks between Comrades Jambyn Batmonh and Milos Jakes. These measures contain, above all, issues concerning the establishment of direct relations between enterprises and expanding production cooperation with the aim of improving the quality of products and increase the efficiency of production, especially in the leather-processing enterprises built in the MPR with CSSR assistance. They also apply to our expanding cooperation in geology and the mining industry, as well as in determining the directions of our cooperation in engineering, electrical engineering, biotechnologies, biochemistry, and microbiology.

It is understandable that we attach great importance to further perfecting the forms and methods of our cooperation, enhancing its effectiveness, expanding goods exchange, and perfecting its structure. The appropriate ministries and ministerial departments have been instructed to work out and organize measures to realize some concrete, agreed on issues, as well as directions for the further expansion of cooperation. These measures will be projected into documents on the coordination of the plan for our cooperation in the next 5-year plan.

We express profound thanks to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the fraternal Czechoslovak people for the assistance and real support which they are extending to us in the solution of tasks oriented toward the acceleration of social and economic development in the MPR.

We note with satisfaction and appreciate Czechoslovakia's active participation in the drafting of the special comprehensive program for multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and the SRV, the Republic of Cuba, and the MPR, which the 44th CEMA session in Prague is to approve. We also believe that the concept of the international socialist division of labor, which will be approved at this session, will, without doubt, become an important step toward perfecting and expanding the cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries.

The positive international changes create favorable conditions for socialist construction in our countries. The restructuring and the economic reform now under way in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries further expand and strengthen the material base of the struggle for a world without weapons and violence.

The new political thinking is continuously asserting itself and creates hope for the elimination of the danger of nuclear war. The USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has ushered in an era of the elimination of nuclear weapons. The progress in the issue of the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and the improvement of bilateral relations at the Soviet-American meeting in Moscow has a great positive influence on the general situation in the world. These are the successes of all socialist countries and all peace-loving forces. The world public appreciates and supports the active efforts and activity of the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and Mikhail Gorbachev, which are focused on eliminating the threat of nuclear war and ensuring general security.

In this connection I want to again express the MPR's full support for the efforts and the concrete contribution of the fraternal socialist Czechoslovakia to the strengthening of peace and creating trust, good neighborly relations, and cooperation among nations.

The MPR strives and will actively fight for ensuring peace and security in the world and in the Asian-Pacific region.

Jakes Addresses Media Personnel

AU0707151788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 88 p 1

[CTK report on Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, meeting with ranking personnel of the CSSR information media: "Public Information—Integral Part of Social Restructuring"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with staffers of the mass information media at the Palace of Culture in Prague on Monday [27 June].

In the opening of his speech, Comrade Milos Jakes spoke about the importance of the information media in forming public opinion. He stressed that the press, radio, and television have the decisive share in explaining the principles of restructuring, the economic mechanism and deepening socialist democracy in our society and in winning the support of the broadest strata of the working people and citizens for their implementation.

In another part of his address Milos Jakes described the current tasks and problems facing us in connection with the realization of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the subsequent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. He appreciated the fact that the process of restructuring meets with the broad support of the working people and citizens. However, he pointed out that we still have not succeeded in achieving the necessary pace of the intensification of our national economy. The slow and insufficient innovation in production, its quality, the low labor productivity, and the continuing high consumption of raw and other materials and energy remain a problem. The process of deepening socialist democracy requires the full utilization of all its existing forms in the bodies of the National Front as well as in the parties and social organizations with which it associates, and in national committees, the utilization of their independence, responsibility, and greater powers. The work of the CPCZ, which is in charge of the restructuring, must set an example in that respect, Milos Jakes noted.

He then spoke about the main tasks of the information media in the current stage of the restructuring of our society's life. He said that an effective ideological work, which must assert the principles of restructuring and democratization in the consciousness of the people, is necessary for ensuring all complex and demanding tasks. An indispensable role is played by the press, radio, and television, whose pages and broadcast are a broad democratic platform for people's views, which have to be fully utilized. The broadest possible public must be informed about the plans of the party, about the course in the implementation of determined objectives, our successes must be reported, as well as our existing weak spots and problems. Exchange of experience—popularizing good experience and constructively criticizing bad experience and producing solutions—this is the path to establishing trust and permanent dialogue. The important thing is to show that things are being solved, that we are advancing. The information media must play a crucial role in the battle for the people's new thinking, for a change in their attitudes and activity in all spheres of our society's life, they must show that only quality and responsible work is the guarantee for achieving the determined objectives, Milos Jakes stressed.

We are broadening the flow of information to the public, he continued. Our view is that the press, radio, and television must show to the public that we are creating open policy, that we are really consulting on all fundamental issues and also providing information about them. Our objective is that the working people and citizens fully support restructuring and become convinced of its irreversible nature. We must combat inertia, but also the wait-and-see attitudes. People must become convinced that everyone has the opportunity to take an active part in the decisionmaking process, in solving problems. That is why we stress the democratization of all spheres of society's life.

The information media are an important instrument of control, he said. They will put the strategic aspects of restructuring under public control. In this respect it is important to unite people to carry out creative work for society. In this connection Milos Jakes stressed the demand for raising the competence of journalists, for their high professional standards. That, however, excludes playing the judge, elevating oneself above society. From the conduct of all journalists it must be obvious that they are in favor of restructuring and democratization of society in the interest of its further advancement.

Fojtik on Importance of Restructuring

LD1207211588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] The ideological aktiv of the North Moravian regional party committee held a seminar in Karvina today.

Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, briefed people on topical issues in ideological work in connection with preparations for the 10th session of the Central Committee. He emphasized that complete understanding of the restructuring program is one of the main conditions for its implementation. This requires a mobilization of society's creative forces and a critical assessment of its development and current state, including the standard of the party's ideological work.

Restructuring in this area, said Comrade Fojtik, means contributing to the optimum advancement and development of spiritual potential; supporting creative thinking, open exchanges of views, and innovation; and leading people to accept responsibility in the process of understanding public interests. He noted that propaganda also must deal with more demanding tasks. Propaganda must be more specific, more concrete, and more daring, and must not avoid problems that arise in restructuring. When forming our attitudes we can fully lean on the experience in restructuring in the USSR, on the documents issued by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Jan Fojtik spoke about preparations for the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee which will discuss ideological work. He noted the importance of explaining to the people the constructive purpose of restructuring, of propagating everything positive brought about by restructuring, and emphasizing the broad advances of socialist democracy.

CPCZ CC Ideological Commission Session

AU1207175088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 p 1

["(z)"-signed report: "Restructuring Has International Validity; Ideological Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee in Session; Deliberations and Documents of 19th All-Union CPSU Conference as Source of Inspiration"]

[Text] Prague—The ideological commission of the CPCZ Central Committee, chaired by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, assessed on Tuesday [5 July] the orientation and state of preparations for the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session.

Ideological work is part and parcel of the party's overall activities, focused on the implementation of restructuring which in itself is a full renewal of the Leninist concept of socialism; this was stated by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, in his opening statement. The deliberations and documents adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference have been a significant source of inspiration in this work. Restructuring has international validity and its success depends (to a considerable extent) on its producing deep changes in the people's social awareness and attitudes. That is why it is necessary to creatively apply the generally valid principles of restructuring in harmony with our needs, traditions, and historical experience.

The discussion was oriented toward the main tasks in improving the quality of ideological work under the present, specific conditions in our society, and toward effectively aiding the restructuring process in all spheres of our life, and above all in the acceleration of our socioeconomic development. We are now beginning to apply in practice the specific measures contained in the long-term program of comprehensively restructuring the economic mechanism and of achieving the democratization of our society—a program worked out by the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions. The discussion emphasized the class dimensions of this process, and stressed the historical continuity and dependence of the party's present policy.

Other discussion speeches dealt with the evaluation of activities to date, with the determination of desirable changes in the orientation of the research base of our social sciences, with the linkage between ideological work and the practical activity and real problems in the life of our society, and with the activation of the human factor in order to consistently implement restructuring. The contents of ideological work is restructuring itself, in all its complexity. That is why it is our task to point out that the goals of restructuring are identical with the interests of the workers class and of other citizens of our society.

The comrades who spoke in the discussion were: Ludovit Pezlar, Jaroslav Kase, Milan Matous, Lumir Hanak, Jan Zelenka, Milan Vondruska, Vladimir Cirbes, Karel Rychtarik, Frantisek Kudrna, Jan Kakos, Karel Kvapil, and Frantisek Graif.

In his final statement Comrade Vasil Bilak stressed that it is essential to learn from the CPSU's experience in solving our current tasks, and to make use of this experience; at the same time there is no need to copy. We are standing on the threshold of new historical events; and the party must formulate the ideological tasks for the next period, Vasil Bilak said in evaluating the significance of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session under preparation. It is the task of ideological work not only to explain the strategic goals, but also to help determine the tactical course. It is necessary to rid our ideological work of certain sediments which are impairing it. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism liberate man from dogmas—and this is the true merit of our ideology.

The session was also attended by Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat; and by Otto Cmolik, Miroslav Mueller, and Michal Stefanak, CPCZ Central Committee department heads.

Loeffler Appointed New Church Affairs Secretary

LD1307190888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin 13 Jul (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has acceded to the request from Dr Klaus Gysi to be released on health grounds from his position as state secretary for church affairs. Willi Stoph expressed his gratitude and recognition for Dr Gysi's longstanding commendable work.

Kurt Loeffler has been appointed state secretary for church affairs. In this connection he has been released from his present office as state secretary in the Culture Ministry.

Jewish Figure Speaks on Pogrom Memorials

AU0807190988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jul 88 p 3

[Speech by Siegmund Rotstein, president of the Jewish National Representation of the GDR, at an international news conference marking the 50th anniversary of the pogrom in Berlin on 5 July: "Remembrance in the Spirit of Joint Antifascist Traditions"]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen:

We are commemorating the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night in the GDR in the spirit of our common antifascist tradition. The remembrance is in line with various activities of our society aimed at supporting life in our communities and at preserving and cultivating the Jewish heritage.

The reason is that the life, the work, and the achievements of German Jews are indivisible elements of our people's culture and history, as can be experienced in everyday life in the GDR. But the recollection of the horrors of the fascist pogrom night 50 year ago still reminds us in a special manner of the slogans of our Jewish teachings: "Remember!"—"Do not Forget!"

We who survived fascist barbarianism have pledged to do everything possible, together with all people who have good intentions, so that fascism and genocide will never occur again.

For Life's Sake on Our Planet [subhead]

Today the life of the whole of mankind is at stake. Therefore, in accordance with our deep conviction, we understand this pledge as an obligation to work for the goal of banishing war forever from the lives of the people.

As the president of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR, I am aware of the things we have in common and of the views that we share with the state and the society on these issues, as became again apparent during the recent extraordinarily fruitful meeting with our State Council Chairman Erich Honecker. Together we waged the antifascist struggle and helped build the new society in which there is no room for anti-Semitism and hatred of other peoples, and in which the struggle for peace is the prime necessity.

In this spirit we understood our active participation in the Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. We, the members of the Jewish communities, highly value the sympathy and the remembrance of our entire society on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night, which we want to commemorate with visitors from all over the world. We want to raise our voices for life's sake on our planet.

Ladies and gentlemen, please allow me to present a brief survey of some of the important projects.

The Jewish National Representation in the GDR invites guests to take part in a central memorial service on 9 November 1988, which will be held at the German Theater, which is closely linked with the work of Max Reinhardt. We expect a large number of visitors from at home and abroad. Some foreign representatives have already announced their participation, including Eugene DuBow, director at the American Jewish Committee; Bohumil Heller, president of the Council of the Jewish Religious Communities in the CSSR; Joseph Lovinger, president of the Association of Jewish Communities in Greece; Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, president of the Association of Jewish Communities in Romania; and Norwegian writer Eva Scheer.

Others are trying to make arrangements for their participation. We are glad about this.

From my talk with the head of the state I know that, of course, they are at the same time guests of the GDR Government. The day will end with the performance of Lessing's "Nathan der Weise" at the German Theater.

On 10 November, wreaths will be laid at the several monuments in the morning and kaddish will be said.

Demonstration by the Young Generation [subhead]

It was with interest that I learned of the proposal, expressed in a talk between Erich Honecker and Heinz Galinski, for our fellow-believers in the capital of Berlin as well as in Berlin (West) to place wreaths at memorials.

On 27 October 1988, during a youth demonstration at the Ravensbrueck Memorial, the young generation will affirm its desire to keep the antifascist legacy alive and to carry it into the future. One month earlier, on 28 September 1988, the GDR National Front National Council, together with the Jewish National Representation in the GDR, and representatives from its eight communities, will commemorate the suffering, the courageous struggle, and the victims of the barbarian crimes of fascism.

An exhibition entitled "And Teach Them: Remember!" will deal with the fascist persecution of Jews and their teachings, in the Ephraim Palace and in other towns. It should be devoted to efforts, which are supported by the whole of society, to come to terms with our history and not to allow things to be forgotten.

Scientific conferences on the same topic were and and will continue to be organized, in which which the Academy of Sciences, the GDR Historians' Society, the Cultural League, the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, and many others are actively involved. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night new plaques and memorials, such as in my home town of Karl-Marx-Stadt, will be unveiled.

Memories of a History Full of Suffering [subhead]

Our country's cultural workers are making their contributions in a varied manner, including a representative music and literature event with readings, lectures, performance of outstanding films, and the publication and re-publication of books. Let me also mention the large number of projects in our communities, in the bezirke, kreise, towns, and villages of our country, during which the memory of the sacrificial history of the struggle for survival, and the joint reconstruction work are kept alive in a specific manner in accordance with local conditions, and which will lead to new joint activities.

Esteemed guests:

As I announced some 3 weeks ago, I address the public today with a call to promote the renovation of the "New Berlin Synagogue" through participation in an international committee.

It fills me with gratitude to be able to say that in the days of the remembrance of the fascist pogrom the symbolic act of the start of the renovation of the new synagogue will be carried out together with our guests.

It fills me with pleasure that apart from the considerable sum handed over by State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, we have received more substantial amounts for the foundation "New Berlin Synagogue—Centrum Judaicum," including sums from the GDR National Front National Council and from the Christian Democratic Union. I have also received a number of individual donations.

CDU's Heyl Addresses People's Chamber Session

AU0807181088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 88 pp 9, 10

[Speech by Deputy Wolfgang Heyl, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Committee, at the sixth People's Chamber session in East Berlin on 30 June: "Our State Will Be a Good Neighbor to All in the European House"]

[Text] Mr President, esteemed deputies:

In the view of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the declaration of the People's Chamber groups that has been put before you corresponds to the clear will of our voters as well as to the goals of foreign and security policy, that is, to our state's peace policy. Each of us has seen manifold proof of the fact that the results of the Moscow summit meet with the full agreement and support of our country's citizens. They consider the coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the effects of which have a direct influence on our Republic, as a victory of reason. The treaty proves that patient and constructive efforts, which have, above all, been undertaken by the socialist countries, have not failed to succeed. The first important step of starting the disarmament process has been taken.

Each of us certainly remembers the words of the State Council chairman, our esteemed friend Erich Honecker, in November 1983, when the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe necessitated the stationing of corresponding Soviet missiles on GDR territory.

When others were full of resignation at that time, he said: "The struggle to avert a nuclear world war and to stop the arms race will be continued now more than ever."

Each of us knows how this "now more than ever"—the credo of our foreign policy—has strengthened our people's confidence during a difficult time, has inspired their efforts for peace, and has encouraged their dedicated work for their state. This credo has impressively stood its test, since today it has been proved that it was not the so-called NATO two-track decision that has made peace more secure but the double zero-option that was started by the Warsaw Pact.

Indeed, the treaty is more than a piece of true disarmament. It is a great encouragement for all those who are interested in detente and disarmament, regardless of their class or strata and regardless of their ideological or religious conviction. They all are encouraged, regardless of differences in other questions, to continue to make all possible efforts to achieve further and even more important disarmament steps.

What was sealed by General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan in Moscow is convincing proof of the fact that mutually acceptable settlements can be reached also on complicated questions, if all parties involved proceed from the realities, if they have a good sense of perspective and show understanding of the partner's security interests, and if goodwill and capability for compromise dominate. As we see, this makes some things possible which only a few years ago seemed unsolvable.

Either Nuclear Weapons Or Mankind Are Destroyed [subhead]

At the same time, this treaty is the first tangible result of the internationally growing insight that today the security of the peoples and states is no longer possible against each other but only together. Only political steps toward a common world without nuclear weapons, without any violence at all, can avert the death sentence of a nuclear war from mankind.

This is dictated by reason and the sense for reality, this is the policy of the GDR and its allies in the nuclear-space age. Because in this age the alternative is: Either nuclear weapons or mankind are destroyed.

The political significance of the treaty reaches beyond the actual subject of negotiations into a future which some people already considered lost. As a result of qualitative changes in Soviet-U.S. relations it signals chances for a gradual halt to confrontation and paves the way to a new relationship between East and West.

To Make Disarmament a Source of Social Progress [subhead]

The GDR has not only contributed to the conclusion of this treaty, it has also supported the process of ratification with all its strength. By agreeing to inspections on the territory of our state without ifs or buts, it has essentially contributed to taking the wind out of the sails of those who oppose ratification.

Even before the agreement came into force, the Soviet missiles covered by the treaty had been withdrawn from GDR territory. Thus, their stationing in the past and their withdrawal in the present are proof of the consistency and conciliatory attitude of our state's foreign and security policy, an expression of our will to preserve peace.

Turning a missile base into a basis of holiday joy for the working people is, indeed, more than a symbol, it is a step toward implementing one of the primary goals of our policy: to eliminate weapons, to turn previously necessary military services into social ones, and to make disarmament in general a source of social progress for the working people.

As long as there are, however, highly armed NATO units along 1,378 km of the GDR's border, it is impossible to do without the forces necessary to defend our country.

But this has never hindered the GDR from continuing the sensible and realistic policy of dialogue.

Only a short time ago in Potsdam it hosted the annual conference of the New York Institute for East-West Security Studies. And last week, the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones took place in Berlin upon its initiative.

At this internationally important forum it was repeatedly stressed that nuclear-free zones and areas support the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and thus correspond to the legitimate interests of all states and peoples. And the proposal of the State Council chairman to establish mechanisms for peaceful crisis management in central Europe is of utmost importance for confidence-building.

The Foreign Affairs Committee will consider it a priority task to support the dialogue with all forces in the world that are ready to come to an understanding in order to achieve a peaceful future for mankind.

In particular at high and highest levels, our dialogue policy has contributed to promoting the understanding in the international arena that the present time demands appropriate thinking and acting.

Thus our state and, last but not least, our supreme people's representative body, the deputies, the parties, and mass organizations in our country have a considerable share in the fact that new attitudes, new forms, and processes are coming about in international relations in order to safeguard peace by means of detente, disarmament, and cooperation, and to contribute to solving other global problems.

Expression of the People's Political-Moral Unity [subhead]

The declaration we have before us wants to promote this further. It is proof of the comprehensive consensus on these question and an expression of our people's political-moral unity, which is based on the great achievements of the working people in town and countryside.

In this connection, the personal work of our State Council chairman is internationally recognized as a historic service to peace and friendship among the peoples.

Thus, the GDR lives up to the demand of the Constitution to pursue a foreign policy that serves socialism, peace, understanding among peoples, and security.

In this spirit, our state is working to gain the highest possible benefits from the new situation in order to achieve further progress on this path.

In particular, it will support everything that serves to extend the disarmament process to other fields without delay. This particularly applies to the halving of the number of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, the reduction and cessation of all nuclear tests, and the banning of all chemical weapons.

In the Future, Too, the GDR Will Be Ready for Constructive Dialogue [subhead]

Now conditions should be established to include the remaining nuclear weapons with a range of less than 500 km in the disarmament process and—as a step toward this—to prevent their modernization. And it is hardly necessary to stress that the GDR is particularly interested in this because these weapons would affect no other place but the heart of Europe. We also consider it an urgent matter to start negotiations by the end of the year on the radical reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe in order to preserve defense capability at the lowest possible level but to exclude the capability for invasion.

As a result of all these considerations, our Republic has repeatedly seized all opportunities to promote disarmament and security on a global and also regional scope.

Our joint declaration demonstrates that in the future, too, the GDR will be ready to contribute, together with its allies, through a constructive dialogue with all forces ready to come to an understanding, to establishing more security in Europe and in the world and to making sure that only peace, and never again war, will emanate from German soil. Our state wants to and will be a good neighbor to all inhabitants of the common European house.

CDU's Goetting Welcomes SED-SPD Proposal

LD1207221288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1733 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 11 Jul (ADN)—Gerald Goetting, chairman of the CDU, has welcomed the proposal by the SED and the SPD for the creation of a zone of trust and security in central Europe. In a statement he emphasizes that the realities of the nuclear age require a new way of thinking and responsible actions. For that reason Christians throughout Europe and in other continents were calling more and more emphatically for further steps aimed at strengthening trust and promoting disarmament. The proposal serves peace and peaceful coexistence, and helps to preserve life, to improve the international atmosphere, and to develop constructive international cooperation.

Gerald Goetting appealed to the CDU-CSU in the Federal Republic not to turn its back on the proposal. He recalled the joint communique by Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl 10 months ago, which stated that both German states must make particular efforts for peaceful coexistence in Europe because only peace, and never again war, must emanate from German soil.

There is now a new opportunity to work in this spirit. The Christian Democrats regard this as a precept of reason and realism and of shared responsibility for peace. The statement emphasizes that linking factors should be more powerful than socially divisive ones. "What can be more urgent today than to help ensure that peace remains so that mankind escapes nuclear death? The hour demands that everything be done to ensure that our common European house survives and that its inhabitants can live together in peace and security."

Fischer Demands Sharpeville Six Not Be Executed

LD1207203688 East Berlin ADN Inernational Service in German 1505 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jul (ADN)—The GDR demands an immediate lifting of the death sentence, which has been illegally imposed on the six patriots of Sharpeville. Erich Honecker's appeal to the president of the Republic of South Africa to dispense with the execution of the death penalty against Theresa Ramashamola and the other five people condemned to death was an expression of the demand, underlined a million times over by the GDR people, for the reintroduction of trial proceedings and the lifting of the unproven, because unprovable, terror sentences. This was stated by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer on Tuesday to the head of the ANC mission in the GDR, Sindoso Mfenyama.

Oskar Fischer and Sindoso Mfenyama noted that the rejection of a further and fair trial of the Sharpeville six once again demonstrated the inhumanity of the apartheid system in South Africa and the need to do everything to end it.

Sindoso Mfenyama thanked Oskar Fischer for the GDR people's firm solidarity with the ANC and the entire anti-apartheid movement in the struggle for a nonracist and democratic South Africa. He expressed the hope that the worldwide protest will save the lives of the Sharpeville six and restore their freedom.

MSZMP CC Session Opens Proceedings 13 July

Agenda Approved

LD1307123688 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—The session of Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party opened in Budapest on Wednesday [13 July] morning. In accordance with an earlier decision the Central Committee held an open session allowing the public to have an insight of its work by means of the mass media. Thereby the Central Committee has started "to involve in its work society and the people ready to act and cooperate in deliberations". It was stated at the session: "We are convinced that strengthening publicity is a prerequisite of successful action and at the same time it is preparation for the social debates planned for this year to discuss major economic and socio-policy issues."

In the absence of Janos Kadar, who is on holiday, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, presided over the session. Karoly Grosz stated that the session forms a quorum and welcomed the members of the Central Committee who have been elected since the latest session. He congratulated and wished well Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest party committee, and Laszlo Varga, vice-president of the council of Zala County.

The session has unanimously approved the proposal of the Political Committee on the agenda.

1. Report on the economic development of the national economy and proposal on the main trends of development in 1989. Speaker: Milkos Nemeth, secretary of the Central Committee,

2. Proposal on the main principles of the bill of assembly and association. Speaker: Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee,

3. The scope of authority in the Central Committee and the Political Committee. Speaker: Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee,

4. Impending issues in the forwarding of the current chairman of the session,

5. Personnel issues. Speaker: Karoly Grosz.

The Central Committee agreed that it would discuss the last point on the agenda at a closed session. Then it decided to invite the speaker of the parliament to all sessions of the Central Committee. To the debate of the various points of the agenda the Central Committee invited the state secretary of the National Planning Office, president of the Central Statistical Office, the ministers of construction and town planning, finance and justice, and deputy head of the party and mass organization department at the HSWP CC.

After the invited guests had taken their seats, Miklos Nemeth took the floor.

Nemeth Urges Economic Changes

LD1307115588 Budpest MTI in English 1040 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 13, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—For the first time with a wide press coverage, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party met in session today to discuss, among other things, a report on the experiences of the development of the national economy in the first months of the year, and proposals for the guidelines of development in 1989.

Mr Miklos Nemeth, CC secretary in charge of economic affairs, stressed in a keynote address that the Hungarian economy was in a critical situation in several respects. Resources were meagre and reserves near exhaustion, and living standards had been stagnating for some time.

Nevertheless, Mr Nemeth stressed, the output of the economy on the whole was still acceptable.

"We have to be more consistent in enforcing requirements for better outputs, and in facing concomitant economic tensions and social conflicts, however painful they may be", he said.

The CC secretary urged radical changes, the essence of which he put as follows:

"We have to make our economy and society indeed open, and work out several alternatives. Comprehensive and intensive relations must be developed for labour division with foreign countries in every direction. This is the only way we can corroborate the driving forces of restructuring, and demolish the barriers that provide over-protection for the economy. At the same time, outputs must be greatly increased and this must be forced to happen through economic control and with the tools of the market. A situation in which no other companies, small cooperatives and the like than those that are competitive are granted possibilities for development must be brought about. The burdens of the state budget must be decreased to this end, and subsidies to inefficient production must be removed in order to reduce the degree of centralization of incomes and the extant monies are drained.

Miklos Nemeth named the following principal requirements:

—A real commodity, money, capital, and labour market is to be established, the circle of economic organizations and their conditions for competition are to be expanded alongside with the emergence of competition for goods and capital imports and the expansion of the ways in which enterprises and markets can work.

—The conditions of operation must be changed so that companies are freed from unnecessary restrictions to make it possible for them to react to the various factors of production as they see best.

—Through a combined application of strict monetary and fiscal policies, an economic environment is to be developed that will create strong incentives and stimulate as efficent a way of tapping resources as possible,

—The role the state plays in the economy must be changed so that it can guarantee a proper functioning of competition in an indirect way, through legislation and economic control alongside to the direct control affected in the public sector. These functions can be performed only by introducing changes in the government's work division and organization.

"It must be emphasized that we shall succeed only if each of the above-listed elements is applied in harmony with the others. Taking any one the elements out from its context may inevitably lead to confusion and failure", stressed Miklos Nemeth.

He said two alternative plan drafts were submitted to the CC. One is based on a powerful turn towards external markets and it calls for radical structural changes in the course of which the market forces would hit the companies and businesses simultaneously or at least in large doses. This alternative would ensure a faster and surer emergence of conditions needed for revitalization by the concentration of burdens in a short time.

The other package offers smaller external and internal pressures but its application would take a much longer time.

Berecz Interviewed on Session

LD1307201888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Interview with Janos Berecz, Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, with Andras Domany on 13 July at Central Committee Headquarters—live, from the "Evening Magazine" program]

[Text] Now we go over live to the Central Committee Headquarters. Andras Domany reports:

[Domany] Good evening; here I am. Janos Berecz, Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, has also just entered the room. The session has only just ended. As far as I know, the first point of the agenda has not been quite completed. To be more precise, the debate has perhaps ended, but the closing speech will be tomorrow. I ask you now, hot from the session, to sum up the debate for us. What were its most essential elements?

[Berecz] The situation is that after the report on the first agenda point, [Berecz coughs] excuse me, this is the result of the excitement of the session tickling my throat, for in the last stage of the session I was in the chair and I had to keep on speaking. So, after the report on the first agenda point, 3 people asked about 7 questions. This was also new and novel, because the possibility for questions has always existed; from time to time there were even a few questions. Now there were also questions to some extent critical and expressing certain opposite opinions, which dealt with this or that part of the report or the submission. They mostly asked how the supports could be regrouped, or withdrawn; how far this will affect the enterprises and how far it could affect the consumers.

[Domany] By the way, excuse me. Naturally, you could not have heard the previous few minutes of the "Evening Magazine," we ourselves have already been able to sum up the questions, as well as the answers that were given to the questions.

[Berecz] I am glad to hear it. Afterward, 23 people wanted to make contributions and in the interim there were 2 more who wanted to do so. Thus, we did not even finish the debate on the first agenda point today, because 21 people were able to speak and 4 are left over until tomorrow morning. The Central Committee will continue its work at 0800 tomorrow morning, still with the debate on the first agenda point. Then we shall have the closing speech and the decision whether to adopt the concept, or rather, which of the versions that have already been published in NEPSZABADSAG—the A or the B version—the Central Committee supports.

At such times, people ususally ask if the debate was really a debate? Do the speakers clash with each other, with each other's views? Or do the words very politely pass one another by? With regard to the A and B version, from this point of view there is a debate, because there are those who also speak on the side of the B version, but the overwhelming majority of the speakers support the A version. Therefore, as one of the speakers put it: Do we choose a slow death or an operation as a solution in today's economic situation? He recommended the operation, too, the A version, saying that this always contains risks. Indeed, a state of fever is also possible, that is it could be accompanied by social tensions.

As for the debate: Debate henceforth will in fact demonstrate that there are those who argue with the former experiences, the former practice, either by highlighting its positive features, or by condemning it. Condemnation for the most part concerns the system of decisions, that there were insufficient possibilities for debating all kinds of versions, and for making very open decisions, for instance on the big investments. The other thing that the debates will supplement is the conclusions, first and foremost. For if a Central Committee secretary reviews the situation in broad general terms, and on the basis of the laws of generality, then indeed the issues appear in different ways from the side of this or that smaller enterprise. They appear in new colors and thereby supplement the conclusions.

Quarrels [perlekedes] arising from a sense of responsibilty for the future are also to be seen, quarrels with ourselves, with our practice in particular. Criticism by now does not so much concern the system and mechanism of decisions, as rather the slowness, elaborateness, and uncertainty of implementation. Here one can say indeed that there is a tough argument with a reality that is to be changed.

[Domany] If I read correctly the list of those who addressed the meeting, there are quite a few new members among them who joined the Central Committee at the party conference less than 6 weeks ago.

[Berecz] That is correct, because they were swept into the Central Committee by the current that characterized the debate and stance prior to the party conference. They feel it is their duty to contribute to the work of the Central Committee not just by their physical presence but also by their spiritual values and experiences.

[Domany] In the "Midday Chronicle" we promised to answer an important question of detail in Miklos Nemeth's submission in the morning. He said that based on the economic results and experiences in the first half of this year more measures are needed before the end of this month to ensure that the budget deficit is reduced by 10-12 billion forints. When we heard this sentence we felt that this was something very important, but it was not completely clear what this was specifically. I am sure many people are interested in this.

[Berecz] In such a specific case, or in a question of such magnitude, it sometimes happens that specific measures are not worked out before the Central Committee session, and hence the executive body, the Politburo, asks for a general authorization of princple from the Central Committee. Or, in this case, the Politburo requests that we support the government on such specific measures. Hence, having made our inquiries, we have been able to gather the main features of roughly what may be involved, measures affecting enterprises primarily. Such a measure would, for instance, be a more determined export incentive, in order to increase exports or maintain them at current levels, and the increase of revenues to enterprises both as places that deserve this on the basis of output and those that have earned it. But—and this is encouraging—it affects loss-making enterprises acutely, because their liquidation, or the reduction of their subsidies, must be speeded up, which could result in the enterprise going automatically into liquidation, or its operation becoming impossible. In the interest of this objective, tax concessions will also be revised or taxes will be levied consistently. Fewer opportunities will be given for providing tax concessions to enterprises which function badly, or certain classes of subsidies will be reduced. So this must add up to 10-12 billion.

It has also been raised that measures affecting the population may also be taken. A decision has not been made, but measures such as putting a brake on the outflow of credit, perhaps setting higher interest rates, and so on, are being examined. So these measures should affect mainly and primarily enterprises, but they might to a certain extent also affect the population.

[Domany] I think we have to reveal a small trade secret as this is the first time that it has been possible to report on the presentation speeches at a Central Committee session. Several of us, journalists, are in fact sitting here, colleagues from NEPSZABADSAG and MTI. Perhaps we can bring them in:

[Hamori] An interesting debating element arose here at the Central Committee session which has not been answered until now. Ferenc Bartha, president of the Hungarian National Bank, noted that in the country's present economic situation, it was perhaps not very fortunate if the policy domain repeatedly used the term turn-about [fordulat] and came out with a new program after the previously decided party program and government work program. For reasons of presentation, he did not think this was wise. What is your opinion of this?

[Domany] Allow me to interject that the question was put by Balazs Hamori, deputy editor in chief of NEPSZABADSAG.

[Berecz] I have to say that soon after that speech came the recess, in the normal course of the work, as some sort of break has to be held here, as well, every 2 or 3 hours. This is also called the trade union break, for the workers' interests must be safeguarded here as well. Immediately, a lively debate ensued among members of the government on this subject. They even discussed the idea of one or two members of the government signalling their intention to make another contribution. The idea of Comrade Medgessy explaining this question was also raised, for there is no agreement with Ferenc Bartha's contribution, but in the end we decided that the report's presenter would answer this in detail in his summary. I must add, however, that it is not only the political domain that calls it a turn-about, for even economic experts, economic historians, were also of the opinion that the program submitted represented a turn-about. So this is not a political terminology, but a concept supported by economic experts.

[Unidentified reporter] So there is a definite need for this turn-about. In which case, as several speakers raised in the course of the debate as well, why does the Central Committee not get variants worked out in equal depth and to the same professional standard? Several people expressed the view that the A version is worked out in more detail than the B version.

[Berecz] They ran ahead of matters since there had never been a discussion so early on regarding the concept for the next period at a Central Committee session. Now the staff of specialists, that is, the relevant system of institutions of the government, are asking for instruction as to which one to develop more intensively. I am, however, convinced that the view that will prevail is that the A version has more support and that is the one whose working out should be given greater attention, while it should be accompanied by the working out of the B version, as well, only the latter should not be done so intensively. However, the Central Committee will have another opportunity still this year to take a close look at a, by then more developed, version.

[Nagy] I am Attila Nagy, from MTI. Comrade Berecz has said that the A version received more support in the debate. I would like to ask, however, whether there were any speakers who did not support either version and perhaps drew up a different concept?

My next question is also connected with this issue. The realization of either version would place significant burdens on the population as well. How did the speakers evaluate these circumstances when they expressed their views?

[Berecz] None of the speakers said that neither version was good and that a third, C variant, was needed. Two speakers said that there should not be an excessively rigid demarcation between the two versions because it could be envisaged that on the whole variant A is realized, but some elements from variant B should definitely be added to it, particularly if marked social tensions arise in the wake of the measures.

I must add that almost all the speakers, that is, not only those who work in the trade union sphere but also, for example, the president of the Academy of Sciences, writer Szilveszter Oerdoegh, and others, examined the dangers inherent in the realization of variant A. They said that this would be accompanied by social stresses, because inflation would increase, the cost of living would rise, and we would have to expect a higher percentage of structural unemployment and similar phenomena, and temporarily even a certain decline in production, because branches have to be cut, eliminated or placed in a difficult position to force them to stop producing at a loss.

Everyone takes this into consideration. A woman worker said that we had to choose between slow death and an operation, and she also argued in favor of the operation. In the interval I chatted with her. She told me that her brigade had encouraged her to say that there has been enough delay; we have been doing that for 10 years; it is time to get down to facing up to the situation and the facts and to do everything in our power to overcome this difficult period.

[Domany] Thank you very much. Dear listeners, as you have heard, the session will continue tomorrow with the debate. Then there will be the closing speech on the first point on the agenda.

Central Committee Session Continues 14 Jul

LD1407081588 Budapest MTI in English 0636 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—The session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party continued at the HSWP Headquarters on Thursday. The debate on the experience in the economic development of the first half of the year, the guidelines for 1989 and the keynote address is expected to end this morning. Then, in accord with the agenda, the session is to discuss the proposal on the main principles of the regulation of the right of assembly and association.

Grosz Addresses Councils College Session

AU2106114088 Budapest MTI in English 0853 GMT 16 Jun 88

["Karoly Grosz on the Work of Administration"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 16/06/1988— With regard to the foundation of the Councils College on Monday Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, talks about the major trends in the development of the work of administration in the Thursday issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

On the transformation of government work Karoly Grosz said:

"Some issues attached to the system of the central management, such as the question of academic management, are pending. The elimination of government commissions did not concern the academic policy commission. What we lacked was not the intention but the concept. We by no means want to change the structure of the Academy of Sciences in this decade. But outside the Academy several academic workshops operate under the guidance of the state. Their work does not seem to be coordinated. Applied scientific research is one of the areas where better coordination, which does not mean more institution, is required. A more effective and viable system is needed in this field. If we really want the guidance of the party to be focused on the elaboration of scientific strategies, leaving the practical issues for the government, then we have to remove the contradiction that the academic policy commmission is under the government and the party is engaged in practical issues. The issue has not been thoroughly thought out.

Subsequently Karoly Grosz expounded that the issue of the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning is not yet decided. His question is where town planning should belong. Both the Planning Office and the Ministry of Environment Protection have been mentioned, but decision has not yet been made, he added, and continued:

"The third section of management is linked to the Planning Office and the Ministry of Finance, the State Material and Price Office, and the State Wages and Manpower Office. Perhaps in the present situation we should leave these issues alone. But a survey has to be made and before elaborating a concept we must analyze the situation. As far as the regional state management is concerned it is not the problems of organization but of attitude, methods and work style that have to be tackled. The next section is the issue of the division of labour between the regional party and state administration and the council and social organs, which raises the the problem of guidance of the party in the first place as part of the system of political institutions. Karoly Grosz also talked on further developing the work of the Ministry of Interior, responsible for the guidance of the local councils.

"Let me mention one example. The national system of police offices has been for long institutionalized. But despite its authorization, the National Central Police Office, in practice and in the public opinion, does not act as an independent national body. This is also worth reconsidering. Independence has also to be encouraged inside the Ministry of Interior. These issues has to be analyzed systematically. In my opinion the Ministry of Interior should be better integrated into the domestic political life of the country, giving impetus to internal social developments and organizing them instead of confining its activity merely to criminal investigation and the maintenance of public order. It is uncertain, however, if it can cope with the new tasks with an unchanged organizational structure", said Karoly Grosz to the Thursday NEPSZABADSAG.

Professor Views Constitutional Rights

AU0206123888 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 28 May 88 p 4

[Interview with University Professor Lajos Szamel by Istvan Javorniczky: "Human Rights in Constitution—Ideals and Rules"—date and place not given]

[Text] A scientific conference entitled "Constitution and Constitutionalism" was held recently at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In addition to analyzing the characteristics of the establishment of the Hungarian Constitution, the conference speakers also dealt with the problems of further developing our Constitution and with the content of a new constitution, which is being urged more and more. Dr Lajos Szamel gave a lecture on the constitutional regulation of human rights.

To Be Suitable for the Agreement [subhead]

[Javorniczky] The slogan of freedom has been worthless for a long time—you quoted Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus, referring to the fact that people do not wake up in the morning and go to bed at night thinking how nice it would be to enjoy freedom of assembly; people are trying to achieve more concrete goals. However, lack of freedom in a given situation and at a given moment can be tormenting. How can we characterize the state of the citizens' human rights in Hungary today?

[Szamel] The bourgeois revolutions intended to create a sphere of freedom. Therefore, they worked out ideals that are valid to this very day and which continue to be requirements for many societies. Our present rules do not entirely fulfill these ideals. Hungary also adopted the document of international agreement on civil and political rights, which contains obligations for the countries that accepted it. The basic idea of the document is that human rights must be regulated by the Constitution and the law. Of course, this agreement contains only a minimum number of human rights, and it is, by necessity, a compromise solution because the document had to create rules acceptable for countries of very different social systems and ideology. The regulation or readjustment of human rights is also necessary in Hungary because the economic reform must go hand in hand with political reform, and the latter needs certain conditions, like, guaranteed human rights.

[Javorniczky] What rights belong in this sphere?

[Szamel] Political and community human rights come to the fore here. The right of assembly and association, and freedom of press traditionally belong to this sphere of human rights. After World War II, this list increased with, for example, freedom to gather and supply information, which is not identical to the freedom of press or with the right to petition included in many constitutions, which stipulates that citizens have the right to petition the authorities to carry out or refrain from carrying out a decision. I refer here to cases like the debate surrounding the waste incinerator in Dorog. There is no law that forbids the population from collecting signatures and turning to parliament through their representatives and asking it to discuss the issue, to stop construction, or to do anything which disadvantages the people living in that area.

Vague Concepts [subhead]

[Javorniczky] What about that other large area of human rights: personal freedom?

[Szamel] Here too, our regulations need considerable adjustment. For example, there are Interior Ministry regulations concerning certain emergency measures, while these measures should be regulated by laws. Regulations of a lower legal rank than laws should stipulate only certain technical norms at the most, and these too should be dealt with very carefully so that essential issues that affect human rights are not stipulated by ministerial regulations. I will give you an example. Laws must spell out when it is possible to disperse a meeting and how authorities should behave: First they must call upon the participants to leave, and if this does not help, they should try to disperse them by peaceful means; laws must also stipulate the circumstances and the way in which the authorities can use force, water cannons, tear gas, and other such means.

[Javorniczky] Many people are of the opinion that the new constitution should not be a collection of abstract declarations but should deal more concretely with the state administration, citizens' rights, and other relevant issues.

[Szamel] The constitution should clearly state that only laws can stipulate limitations on various human rights. The constitution should provide guidelines for more detailed regulations, such as that the concept of assembly includes only peaceful and unarmed assembly or that military or paramilitary associations cannot be founded. The law would then clearly determine which cases would be included under this ban. Limitations of rights should not be described in vague concepts because, then the power in force will interpret these according to its will. For example, using such vague legal concepts, Paragraph No 54 in our Constitution states that citizen rights must be exercised in harmony with the interests of the socialist society. Another chapter in the Constitution states that the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees freedom of press, assembly, and speech according to the interests of the people. The fact that the exercise of rights is inseparable from the fulfillment of responsibilities is another misunderstanding. For example, it is a fundamental obligation of the citizens to protect public property, but, if a citizen happens not to fulfill this obligation, why should he not be able to go to church, and make use of everyone's right of religious freedom?

[Javorniczky] At the conference, you also spoke about the need to thin out the forest of bans in which we Hungarians are living, and about the fact that human rights cannot be the subject of evaluation by the authorities.

[Szamel] Human rights must be subjective rights protected by independent courts. As for the jungle of licenses, we could list here endless examples showing the large number of unnecessary bans and the innumerable licenses needed for things that citizens could easily be allowed to decide on; the only thing these licenses are for is to consistently pester people.

Meetings and Demonstrations [subhead]

[Javorniczky] One hears a lot nowadays about the law on associations currently being prepared. Therefore, let us now analyze another important issue in more detail: freedom of assembly.

[Szamel] According to the present Constitution, freedom of assembly is virtually unlimited, except for the abovementioned consideration of socialist interests. There is no law stipulating this. There are some regulations in force here and there about the cultural events, but these cannot be regarded as regulations governing assemblies. In my opinion, a future regulation should differentiate between meetings for which no license is required—like religious assembly or family reunions, a wedding procession going through a village—and other meetings and demonstrations. The particular thing about these is that different regulations apply to closed meetings and public meetings, and the latter should be considered a demonstration.

[Javorniczky] To what extent is it necessary to limit the freedom of those who organize meetings and demonstrations, and which licenses the authorities are required to provide?

[Szamel] I would prefer the obligation to report to the local council about intended political meetings and demonstrations, or to provide the name of the speaker, rather than to declare that everything is permitted but we do not allow anything. If the planned event is against the Constitution or the Penal Code, the local council can ban it, but one should be able to immediately turn to the court which would decide quickly on who is right. In my opinion, this is also a better solution for the participants in the meeting, because they would know precisely what is at stake, and that the organizers would prevent other undesired elements from mixing with them, and would also know that the organizers are responsible for them, too. If a court is really independent, it provides adequate guarantees that a local council divided into a hierarchy cannot ban a legal demonstration. I think that this regulation would give real substance to the law on the freedom of assembly and would eliminate a situation in which freedom of assembly is practically unlimited but, at the same time, the evaluation of a concrete event is vague.

FRG Bundestag Group Fails in Visit to Romania

AU1207114688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jul 88 p 2

[MTI report: "Failure of Bundestag Delegates in Romania—No Information on Location"]

[Text] Contrary to the original plans, Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian party and state head, did not receive the FRG Bundestag delegation which visited Romania in order to study the problems of human rights and of national minorities in Romania.

According to the report of the 5-member delegation published in the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG of Munich and in the GENERAL ANZEIGER of Bonn, Bucharest is obviously offended by the latest Bundestag decision in which the FRG parties publicly scorned the Romanian Government for violating human and national minority rights and for the forced implementation of the so-called settlement reorganization plan that would possibly force masses of village inhabitants to leave their homes.

The FRG parliamentary delegation discussed primarily this plan as well as the Romanian authorities' policy aimed at assimilating the German and Hungarian population in Romania. The hosts answered this criticism with denials and condemnations of Western press reports. The delegation's efforts to get more information on location about the background of tension with Hungary also proved to be in vain. Such information was considered secret.

Scientific Group Appeal on Minorities in Romania

AU1506154288 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Jun 88 p 3

["Appeal by the PPF Erdei Ferenc Scientific Political Club"]

[Text] On 29 April 1988, the Romanian authorities announced their intention to drastically reduce the number of their villages by the turn of the century: They intend to replace the erased villages with some 500 so-called "agricultural-industrial centers" where the population driven away from these villages will be housed in blocks of rented apartments. This measure is the continuation of a process which has gone on for many decades and which openly aims at completely assimilating the national minorities living in Romania.

This forced intervention will lead to the complete elimination of the ethnic communities of Hungarians, Saxons, Swabians, Jews, Serbians, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, and other national minorities living there. In this situation, we, Hungarian intellectuals, cannot keep silent because we are deeply concerned about the fate of the more than 2 million ethnic Hungarians who live there. The above-mentioned measure which calls for the elimination of 8,000 villages will sever the last ties of national and historical identity awareness of the Hungarians in Transylvania. This measure will deprive them of the only things left to them: their houses, churches, and their dead. Everything that a thousand years of wars could not destroy, will be destroyed in the coming few years for the establishment of an ethnically uniform Romania.

The tragic cruelty of the forceful "modernization" of Romania's settlement structure is well reflected in the fact that the military actions and the irrational vengeance of the extremely bloody World War II that had so many victims did not destroy the settlement structure of any country to the extent Romania intends to do in peace time.

We, Hungarian intellectuals and as part of the universal human culture, protest this policy that disregards the most elementary human right, because this is a dangerous policy not only for the future of the nations and their culture in Europe, but also for the future of all the nations and their culture on earth.

This is a plan that stops the continuity of human culture and destroys its values:

—The plan will make ancient cultural centers disappear and will disrupt the communities and ethnic structures that have developed in the course of history;

—It will upset the ecological balance that developed in the course of thousands of years and will disrupt the harmony between agricultural land and communities;

—The forced relocation of the population will cause extremely severe tension and health problems for generations both in the individuals and in the society as a whole;

—The relocated population will become even more defenseless than hitherto;

—The destruction of churches, chapels, and synagogues is of great concern to religious people;

—Traditional values will disappear with these villages and their architecture, values that are preserved through great sacrifices for future generations in other places all over the world;

—The destruction of a naturally developing network of villages will create a social and economic shock.

With a feeling of responsibility for the Hungarians living in Romania and for the other nationalities and Romanians there, and for all the cultural and social values of the universal human community, we protest against this measure intended to destroy the majority of a country's villages. It is our conviction that peace among the nations in this part of the world can be achieved only by implementing the rights of the national minorities in practice.

We call upon everyone, every domestic and international social, political, and economic association, party, government, and church to protest the Romanian policy that violates human rights and destroys the cultural, social, and historical heritage of mankind.

Marjai Says Paper Shortage Temporarily Overcome

AU2906143688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jun 88 p 4

[Interview with Minister of Trade Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, by G. Zs.: "The Paper Issue Solved for the Time Being—Interview with Jozsef Marjai"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] After the publication of the article in NEPSZABADSAG on 9 June, Marjai informed our editorial staff that the government organs were continuing negotiations to ensure supplies of the full quantity of paper from the Soviet Union. Marjai recently gave the following information to our correspondent:

[Marjai] After repeated negotiations with the Soviet side, we succeeded in having them reduce their exports this year by a smaller extent, by about 5,000 tonnes. We have taken measures to supplement most of the shortage created this way by imports accounted in convertible currency, provided that these imports are bought by the newspaper publishers. We will secure foreign currency for this purpose. However, we have no possibility of doing more than this. The paper to be imported in this way, however, will cost exactly three times as much as the Soviet paper.

[G. Zs.] If I understand you correctly, the situation continues to be unresolved in two respects. Whether the newspaper publishers will be able to pay the price of the more expensive paper is a still pending issue; and the quantity of newsprint paper will still be smaller than 1 year ago. Are there any solutions for these difficulties?

[Marjai] The budget does not allocate one single filler to subsidize newsprint, so newspaper publishers will have to bear the burden. Although the paper shortage will be smaller than previously indicated, it will affect all newspaper publishers. It will depend on them and on the owners of the newspapers whether they will react to this shortage by reducing the number of issues printed, the size of the newspaper, or the number of pages. Due to a smaller decrease in imports from the USSR, and by supplementing most of the missing quantity through convertible imports, I think that the shortage of paper will no longer be a problem for the newspapers or the readers, particularly if they succeed in reducing waste in their use of newsprint, waste which exceeds the international level.

[G.Zs.] Do you then regard the matter as closed, or will you continue the talks?

[Marjai] This is all we were able to do concerning this year. We will continue to review opportunities for importing paper next year and will try to find the optimal solution.

Grosz Receives Finnish Political Delegation

LD2106154588 Budapest MTI in English 1010 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 20 (MTI)—On Monday Hungarian party and state leaders met in Budapest the Finnish political delegation attending the events of the 8th Hungarian-Finnish friendship week in Hungary. The group of representatives of Finnish political, economic and cultural life is headed by State Minister Ilkka Kanerva.

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, held an informal discussion with the Finnish guests in the parliament. Karoly Grosz appreciated above all the traditionally good relations of Hungary and Finland. He pointed out that the recent Budapest visit of President Mauno Koivisto marked an outstanding station in the building of relations. He said that despite the development of economic cooperation amid problem-free bilateal relations, there are still numerous opportunities to be tapped. The prime minister attributed this partly to the lack of activity of Hungarian companies, stressing that the political contacts provide for wider scope of action also in the economy, which should be better utilized by the Hungarian enterprises.

On the timely endeavours of Hungarian home policy, Karoly Grosz stated that Hungary's efforts at renewal are proceeding in four main directions. An important task is the establishment of a more up-to-date system of state superstructure, which includes separation of the work of party and state bodies and creation of a novel relationship beween parliament and the government in the state structure. However, the most important task is economic modernization, with such key issues as the renewal of economic management and creation of a state-influenced self-controlled market. This also calls for a change in the present proportion of state and private property. Depending on its strength of capital and place in the economic structure, private property could even share 20-25 per cent of domestic economy. A further major move is economic restructuring and the improvement of labour discipline and the demand for quality work.

Our main endeavours include the renewal of ideological life and the establishment of more open foreign relations, Karoly Grosz said.

In his speech given on behalf of the Finnish delegation, Ilkka Kanerva stressed that Finland follows with great interest and sympathy the building work in Hungary and the free intellectual atmosphere which was also reflected by the words of Karoly Grosz. Finland's efforts are driven by concepts similar in many respects. The creation of intensive economy relying on knowledge and technology is considered the most important task. It is none the less important that these tasks be examined in Finland in the light of the close cooperation of European states.

During the day the Finnish delegation met in the parliament Rezso Trautmann, vice-president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly. The Hungarian leaders gave information on the work of the Presidential Council and the National Assembly, and then reviewed topical home political and international issues.

The talks were attended by Joszef Garamvolgyi, secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and Arto Mansala, ambassador of the Republic of Finland to Hungary.

The Finnish delegation also held a discussion with Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs.

Minister Varkonyi Meets With Dutch Official

LD2406210988 Budapest MTI in English
1937 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 24 (MTI)—Leonardus Vijverberg, chief political director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, visited Hungary from June 22 to 24 at the invitation of Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs. The sides stated that the favourable development of East-West relations provided good conditions for the reciprocally advantageous expansion of bilateral political, economic, cultural and tourist relations. The Hungarian side emphasized that the plans for economic restructuring offer an opportunity for the involvement of Dutch business circles.

Discussing international affairs, the parties expressed the interest of their countries in further improvements in East-West relations, the conclusion of further bilateral and multilateral agreements on arms limitation, the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting, and the soonest possible elimination of regional hotbeds of tension.

Leonardus Vijverberg met Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs.

Austrian Minister Pays Official Visit to Hungary

AU3006135288 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG
in German 30 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Yesterday [29 June], Interior Minister Karl Blecha began a 2-day official visit to Hungary at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart Istvan Horvath. For today, working talks between the delegations of the two interior ministries are scheduled. In the afternoon, Blecha will meet with Hungarian party and government chief Karoly Grosz. Several institutions in Budapest and nearby are to be visited on Friday [1 July].

The central topics of the working talks are an assessment of the existing cooperation in the field of police and public safety, as well as the fight against the illegal drug traffic.

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Official Visit

Gorbachev Welcomed to Szczecin

LD1307112488 Warsaw PAP in English
1025 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—The Soviet special plane with Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa on board landed at the Goleniow Airport near Szczecin today, shortly after 11 a.m. After a welcome by Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife Barbara, both leaders and persons accompanying them headed for the city.

Gorbachev, Jaruzelski Attend Rally

LD1307120388 Warsaw PAP in English
1137 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—A friendship rally started at the K-1 Department of the Adolf Warski Shipyard here today with the participation of a thousand and a half shipyard workers.

While welcoming Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski who arrived at the rally, first secretary of the shipyard PUWP Committee Zenon Pyda spoke about the importance of cooperation with the Soviet Union to development of the shipyard which had so far built 203 vessels for the Soviet Union, including most sophisticated ships designed to explore the sea bed.

Gorbachev on Upcoming Pact Session

LD1307134088 Warsaw PAP in English
1329 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—While addressing shipyard workers in the Polish town of Szczecin, and in connection with a session of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw-Treaty Member-States scheduled in two-day's time, Mikhail Gorbachev announced new constructive ideas which would constitute continuation of the peaceful course pursued by socialist community countries in international affairs.

We are going to this meeting, said the leader of the Soviet Union, open to cooperation. We are ready to consider the current situation in Europe and in the world with no prejudice, and jointly with our Western partners to seek ways to better peace and better cooperation.

We can feel the tremendous responsibility before our peoples, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, for preserving and protecting in a better world and international cooperation everything that was achieved in the years of struggle against Nazism and in the years of peace building. We are willing to take initiative in foreign-policy making for the sake of preserving human civilization and for the benefit of all peoples.

Arrests on Eve of Visit

LD1307134788 Hamburg DPA in German
1140 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—On the eve of Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Szczecin six members of the pacifist group "Freedom and Peace" were arrested yesterday evening. As a representative of the organization announced by telephone, the group had applied for a permit to demonstrate on the side of the street during Gorbachev's visit to Szczecin.

Instead of an answer, the police carried out house searches yesterday evening and arrested six young people. The group wanted to demonstrate with banners on which they wanted to express their gratitude for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and to demand the reduction of military bases in Poland.

According to circles of the banned Solidarity trade union in Warsaw, today some of the staff at the Stalowa Wola steel works in southern Poland stopped work. They demanded the reinstatement of seven colleagues who had been dismissed because of the strike at the end of April. The tool department and the research and development department were affected. The tool department restarted work after the management gave assurances that the seven would be reinstated.

Steel Workers Strike During Visit

AU1307113488 Paris AFP in English
1122 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 13 (AFP) - Several hundred workers of the Stalowa Wola steel mill in southeastern Poland downed tools Wednesday to press for the re-employment of seven collegues fired after a strike in April, trade union sources said here.

All seven workers are members of the outlawed Solidarity union.

The strike affected three workshops of the plant which employs 18,000 people. Five of those dismissed in April rejected as "not acceptable" unspecified management proposals in talks with mill leaders early Wednesday and were arrested when police broke up the meeting.

About 4,000 workers of the armament plant controlled by the defence ministry had called for the re-hiring of all dismissed personnel last week and threatened to go on strike during the current visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev if their demands were not met.

Meanwhile, police withdrew from around a Stalowa Wola church where about 50 people, including Solidarity militants, had taken refuge since late Monday, informed sources said.

Police Monday reportedly attacked worshippers and arrested several people prompting others to spend the night in the church.

Wreaths Presented at Monument

LD1307172788 Warsaw PAP in English
1652 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski laid wreaths at the Monument to Brotherhood in Arms situated at Szczecin's central cemetery where some 4,000 Soviet and Polish soldiers fallen in April and May of 1945 during the operation of crossing the Odra River have their graves.

Prior to the ceremony the two leaders talked to Soviet and Polish war veterans who arrived to attend the wreath-laying.

Leaders Speak to TV Reporter

LD1307183588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Unscheduled interview with Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski for Polish Television, date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Could I ask Comrade Gorbachev one question? All television viewers want us to ask you how you like the song "Mikhail, Mikhail"?

[Gorbachev, in Russian, with superimposed Polish translation] This was interesting; it was unexpected of course. I must admit that the people, the people like it. It is interesting. I liked the sense, the sense of this song. This is support, this is support, some sort of affection expressed. I also receive it in precisely this way.

[Reporter] Comrade Gorbachev has many times expressed affection for General Jaruzelski. Where does this come from?

[Gorbachev] At first, we simply met as men of duty. Currently, I can say, I have great party friendship with Wojciech Jaruzelski and I judge that the most important matter is that we carry on the struggle together. We are working to lead our countries out onto new frontiers in the interests of the people, in the interest of all of socialism, and I will not hide the fact that we have very good, human relations; I consider Comrade Jaruzelski a great friend. Friendship between leaders is also good for the countries. I will tell you Poles, you had good fortune, you had good fortune at this complicated stage of history. There appeared a man of high morals, enormous potential, [words indistinct] a man who loves his homeland, and a great internationalist [words indistinct] [laughter]

[Jaruzelski] It does not do, it does not do to contradict a guest, but it seems to me that he exaggerated my capabilities, my role, but I value this friendship. [words indistinct] is a friend, is a friend in a very particular way.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Gorbachev's 'Offensive of Smiles'

LD1307204588 Warsaw PAP in English
2018 GMT 13 Jul 88

["Gorbachev's Offensive of Smiles by PAP Commentator"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 13—Poland and the Poles are being subjected to the Gorbachev offensive of smiles and immensely like it. The visit, in its third day on Wednesday, had been termed "a historic one" before it actually started and is proving to be a huge success in every dimension. For the first time the Polish public sees the top level politics conducted with such a flair and charisma. It is a political show of top quality which probably is winning Gorbachev as many supporters and friends in Poland as his bold and innovative political ideas do.

Millions of Poles are glued to the TV sets and follow Gorbachev's progress in Poland step by step. It would be difficult not to see the very warm, friendly and easy-going personal relation of the two leaders. Should anybody fail to notice it, in Szczecin Gorbachev lavished a long and fullsome praise of Jaruzelski's qualities and close friendship of the two.

Smiles aside, there are very serious matters arising from the visit. Reformers on both sides of the Polish-Soviet border are being greatly encouraged by the strength of the mutual support for perestroyka and renewal. Gorbachev launched in Poland a powerful offensive for speeding up and deepening structural changes in the socialist system. His ideas are gladly listened to in Poland, where the reforms are proving to be more difficult and slow in progress than it was originally expected. The real problem in both countries are not active opponents of the perestroyka, but sheer inertia of the structures and a wait-and-see attitude on the part of the party apparatus and the bureaucracy.

Gorbachev's visit in Szczecin was an important reminder of the permanent status of the postwar European territorial order and the security of established borders. As one of the top Polish politicians put it, Poles do not have any uneasy feelings about their Western frontiers but deem Gorbachev's visit there to be an important and symbolic political fact.

Gorbachev Addresses Szczecin Meeting

LD1307133188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1145 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at Polish-Soviet Friendship meeting at Warski shipyard in Szczecin—live; Gorbachev speaks in Russian with passage by passage translation into Polish; this version translated from Russian]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, dear Polish friends, the program of my visit to Poland has led to you, Szczecin, to your shipyard, and to this meeting, which I am sincerely happy about. I thank you for the feelings that have just been expressed here at the very beginning of my meeting with you. I want to agree with Comrade Jaruzelski, with everything he said here about the working class and its contribution to the renewal, the socialist renewal of our countries.

I would even put it more frankly, and more bluntly. If the Soviet leadership—and, I understand, the Polish leadership here, too—had not felt the support of the working people, had not felt the support of the working class, they could not have forwarded the present policy of restructuring and socialist renewal of our countries. Most importantly, this policy is worth nothing at all if deprived of the support of the working people, the workers.

Therefore, my first words are words of greetings for you dear friends, the workers' collective of the Warski shipyard, on behalf of the Soviet people, on behalf of our party and government. And through you, I greet the working people of Poland, the working class of Poland, who over these years are accomplishing perhaps the most important tasks, fateful tasks, for their country and the whole of the socialist world. [applause]

Dear comrades, I would like first and foremost to share our whole delegation's great impressions of our stay over these days on Polish soil. Primarily we have been gladdened as well as excited and forced to reflect on many matters by the atmosphere that our visit has been held in. We have had very many meetings—most of which were not scheduled in the program of the visit. These were lively meetings with the working people of Poland in Warsaw, Poronin, Krakow, and with you here today.

So far we have only visited one workshop, but we have already had three very important brief conversations. You know, perhaps the most important thing in our visit is that we can sense that Polish working people have sincere feelings for us, as representatives of the Soviet people. We can sense the Polish people's genuine interest in our affairs and that they are interested in much and want to know more about what is going on today in the Soviet Union. I arrived, and straight away I read the words that you are in total solidarity with our great cause of restructuring. Thank you for that. [applause]

Perhaps even at such a large meeting, it is still worth us considering together what is happening. [words indistinct] have spoken about this, and I have discussed this with Comrade Jaruzelski.

This is not simply hospitality, based only on culture. This, surely, is more important; it is the evidence of more important changes in our relations. Over the past few years we have sensed that we have become closer, that our need for each other is growing, that our mutual understanding is growing, that we have become more open to each other. Earlier it was a policy of friendship and cooperation on the level of parties, governments, and regions. At present we see that something new is taking place—our working people are reaching out to each other; they wish to continue to proceed along the path we have chosen. We have one path—in our country we think of this path as restructuring; you think of it as socialist renewal.

Let us rejoice together that having traversed a lengthy path in the history of our relations, where everything took place, much that was joyful and that will forever remain in people's memories and much that was dramatic, from which we draw and have drawn lessons. But, let us rejoice at the fact that we are now together and that we feel we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with each other. We are convinced that with Poles these are the shoulders of reliable friends. You can count on the same attitude on the part of the Soviet people. [applause]

Comrade Jaruzelski and other comrades have said how important cooperation with the Soviet Union is for Poland. I want to say sincerely that we consider cooperation with People's Poland in all respects vital as well, dear comrades. We want to develop our cooperation in the sphere of politics, both at home and abroad. We want to enter upon new forms of cooperation in the economy in order to promote our common advancement, our successful advancement. Over the last few years we have been getting extensive cooperation going in the sphere of human relations.

In 2 days we have seen and heard much that testifies to the the fact that here, as well, we are witnesses to new relations. We are glad that the workers and the working collectives of our countries are cooperating more closely and broadly. We are very pleased that now contacts between our young people are developing and expanding. And it is very important that what has been done by the preceding generations to create our friendship should be continued by the new generations that come to take our place.

We are very glad that ties of cooperation between our scientists and representatives of art and the whole sphere of culture have expanded in recent years. All-in-all, we can now say that our present relations have become truly nationwide in character. In my view, this is the most reliable guarantee that our relations will gain in strength. During these days we have spoken much of the past, and even more of the present. But at the same time we are now already thinking about the main questions relating to economic cooperation on which we have already agreed for the period 1991-1995. This will create reliable prerequisites for our joint work.

Allow me, at this moment, dear comrades, to give heartfelt thanks to you, your labor collective, for what you have done for the Soviet Union over the course of many years. I would like to say to you that your output is well appreciated in the Soviet Union, and we hope that your brand will not only be retained, but that you will surely step up your work and supply even better ships to the Soviet Union.

I would now like to take this opportunity to say a cordial thank you for your conscientious labor, your competent and highly professional labor. [applause]

As it turns out, perhaps not by accident, the program of the itinerary of the current visit started in Warsaw, continued in Krakow, and has brought us here to Szczecin. In itself it has all turned out to be very symbolic. I talked to Comrade Jaruzelski about this when (?we were) in the car. This itinerary itself disposes one to meditation. Once again we have the opportunity to turn to the past, to our history. If today you can be proud of the results of he achievements which were performed on your soil, on truly Polish soil, and we can share this joy with you, then it is surely appropriate—more than that—it is an obligation that rests on us, living now, Poles and the Soviet people alike, to recall our joint struggle and the great sacrifices which our people made so that today, both the Soviet Union and People's Poland can occupy such a prominent position in Europe and in the world, and so they can make their enormous contribution to the struggle of peoples for a better world and for cooperation between peoples. We very highly appreciate Poland's contribution and what the Polish people are doing today, at a crucial stage in their history, for the development of world socialism.

We find many useful things in your experience now that we have gotten down to implementing restructuring in the Soviet Union. We want—just as the Polish leadership wants us to know—to show more skill, competence, and organization at the sharp bends of our history and to prevent major mistakes, especially political mistakes. These are the most costly mistakes, and it is not just a single collective, or a town, or a region that pays for them. Frequently all of the people, the whole country pays for them. That is why contacts and experience-sharing are so necessary to us now, in order not to repeat each other's mistakes, on the contrary, to use everything new, all the achievements available in our countries and in all the socialist countries.

We are ready for cooperation. During these days, we feel that the Poles are equally ready for cooperation. I think that maybe now, as never before, as in the most difficult periods of our common history, even more is required of our peoples, the working class, and of the Polish and Soviet leaderships. One should not flinch from difficulties! One should not fear difficulties or panic when confronted with individual failures! We have begun together and will complete such an enormous task, in which those who endure will win. I wish you not only skills, success in work, and unity, but also revolutionary endurance. [applause]

Dear comrades, in a few days, in a day, we will have a session here of the political Consultative Committee in Warsaw. Countries of the socialist community will discuss fundamental current issues which arouse the concern of the people of our countries and of the entire world.

We are going to this session with fresh constructive ideas, ready to continue the peaceloving, constructive line in international affairs. We are ready to take an unprejudiced look at the present situation in Europe and in the world. And together with our partners in the West we are ready to seek paths to a better world. This is a better way. I think that primarily we will discuss the situation in Europe. You can rest assured that we feel the huge responsibility toward our peoples, so that everything that has been gained in the years of struggle against fascism and in the years of post war construction should be preserved and reliably defended, moreover in conditions of a better world of cooperation among the peoples. We rely on the huge strength which is at our countries' disposal. We are ready for an enterprising foreign policy in the interests of preserving human civilization, for the good of all peoples.

Allow me to wish you, dear comrades, all of the working class, and all of People's Poland, new, great achievements on your soil, which, as we have once again been convinced (?in these days), you love and want to make even richer and more prosperous in the interests of every Pole. Thank you [applause] Here's a souvenir for you. [applause] Thank you.

Jaruzelski Addresses Friendship Rally

LD1307135788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1128 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at Polish-Soviet friendship meeting at Warski shipyard in Szczecin—live]

[Text] Dear comrades, shipyard workers: I am glad to be able, together with our dear guest, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, to be among the working people of Szczecin. I greatly value every visit to your city. From my own experience and not from somebody else's recollections, I know heavy fighting for Western Pomerania. Here lie my close comrades in arms. During the fifties I commanded a division here. Later, for many years I was Szczecin land deputy to the Sejm. I well remember the enthusiasm of workers, scientists, engineers and artisans, teachers and doctors who were lifting from ruin the capital of Western

Pomerania. Not only did they reconstruct houses and factories, but first of all the Polish character of this land. They created the framework of our people's statehood. The Warski shipyard is also a measure of their effort, and also the port complex Szczecin-Swinoujscie, one of the key maritime arteries of the PPR.

It will be difficult to find even 1 square meter of this soil which was not ploughed by shells, not showered with the blood of Soviet and Polish soldiers. History, later, after victory, was played out on diplomatic plain, took real shape here in heavy fighting.

We remember the pioneering deeds by thousands of settlers who came here from the army, camps, Wielkoplska, and from the overpopulated Kielce region, from Wolyn and Wilejka to sow seed and build new life. They found desolation and hiding death. Thousands of hectares had to be cleared, and they had to make sure that there were no mines. At present Szczecin rural areas belong to the leading areas of our agriculture.

Comrade Gorbachev, even today you will be able to meet Polish farmers and to see the results of their hard work. Here, on the western frontier, we are particularly aware of the importance of alliances, the community of national, class, and state interest. In the peaceable neighborhood live fraternal socialist countries—the PPR, the GDR, and the CSSR. Their friendship with the Soviet Union, and its fundamental stand concerning inviolability of postwar frontiers is our common, undeniable, historical achievement.

Dear Soviet friends, comrades, and citizens, Szczecin is a place from which Poland can be seen exceptionally well. As from ancient Kracow thoughts easily wander to distant history of our state, likewise from here, remembering yesterday, we direct them to the present. In this city, 8 years ago the voice was heard of workers protest against distortions which are contrary to the essence of socialism. A memorable agreement was signed. All that is creative and valuable of that period is, and will be, preserved and developed in the process of renewal, but it was a stormy time. It brought corporate actions, and it also set working people against each other. There were roads and roadless tracts. Today it is history—now, only forward. We do not shirk responsibility, neither for yesterday nor for today. Achievements speak for themselves. It is enough to look at the streets and new estates of your beautiful city. But at the same time we draw conclusions from errors and breakdowns. The process of transformations initiated at the 9th PZPR Congress and deepened at the 10th congress is clear proof of it.

The line of renewal, accord, and openness will continue to be realized with persistence and full resolutenesss. Regarding reconstruction, Comrade Gorbachev, both our parties understand each other as it is said in Polish: [w pol slowa,' instantly]. Halfway through the word we share the will toward profound and universal transformations in all spheres of life. The times when feeling good covered up a hard reality have now passed. We are not claiming that things are better than they are. For many reasons, both objective and subjective ones, internal and external, achieving the planned goals is unduly prolonged. This, in the feelings of the society, undermines the reform's effectiveness.

We all know how many difficult problems are waiting to be solved, how many reasons for public worries, and at the same time how many untapped reserves and chances. The economic reform will bring exactly as many results, and in such a shape, as we actually jointly produce and jointly acknowledge as fair.

The social and economic effectiveness of the socialist system is the net result of seemingly contradictory rules. The first is the maximalization of individual and social productivity, a clear differentiation of wages, in line with the actual contribution of creative thought and work. Sometimes, too, decisions which are essential to the whole economy liquidate unprofitable and outdated enterprises. The second makes it the solemn duty of a socialist state to surround with care the social groups which, through no fault of their own, are economically weaker and to maintain the correct level of the public consumption. Things are not all right with this in current conditions. Even more so, we are therefore dutybound to have a rational and honest sharing out of what we have.

Social justice is a problem actively discussed among workers. Breaking the socialist principles of life together does not today just reduce to the procedure practiced by speculators, bribe-takers, currency speculators, preying on the difficulties and living at the cost of working people. Unfortunately, in the socialized sector there are also cases of the diversion of the attainment of the best by those who believe that not they should work productively, but that someone else should do so: a profitable enterprise, a neighbor, a friend. These are our collective and individual, as it is said in Russian, expropriators [rwacze].

Comrades, there are not easy or straightforward solutions. A new ship also undergoes sea trials before it is handed over to its recepient. Economic reform is also tenacious seeking, measuring sessions, trials, and not infrequently, errors, but the chosen direction, the guidelines accepted, are correct. This is confirmed by the experiences of thousands of enterprises that, irrespective of various difficulties, among them supply, are already functioning in the new way. Work productivity has increased; economic efficiency has increased.

Your shipyard is also among such enterprises. Creative thought and engineering ambition, workers' professionalism and the thoroughness, bear fruit in production to world standards. Once, these were general cargo and semicontainer ships, chemical carriers, and also passenger ferries. Currently, we have the so-called products carriers [produktowce] and floating geophysical laboratories, ships for the servicing of drilling rigs, equipment for research and deep underwater work. During the Warski shipyard's 40 years of existence, 443 times the traditional words have resounded at successive launchings: Sail over the waters and oceans; carry the fame of the Polish shipyard worker!

Half of those sentences were spoken in Russian. Just like the whole Polish shipbuilding industry, the Szczecin shipyard has also grown and is developing mainly due to Soviet orders. With a stable, reliable partner like the Soviet Union, one can plan cooperation many years ahead. I think that everyone in this shipyard understands that well.

But it is not just in this branch of industry that we will be determinedly broadening coproduction, production specialization, and scientific-technical exchange. This applies to the whole economy. The enormous potential and receptive market of the land of the Soviets is a great opportunity for us. We want to grasp it fully. Although there is talk in the world and also here in Poland about a crisis in the shipbuilding industry, like the Szczecin shipyard, in spite of a technical situation which is inferior to that in other similar plans, is achieving good results. It is not living off public money. [applause] If only the same could be said of every Polish enterprise. I hope, however, that you will not regard this assessment as a pretext for lowering your sights. It's never so good that it couldn't be better.

The price of worker dignity; his loyalty to his parent workplace; his managerial joint responsibility for its results today and its fate tomorrow, is growing. A robot could operate a machine by itself, but only a human being aware of his rights and duties can cooperate in running a factory, a town, a country. Here in your shipyard, this doesn't happen without disputes, without a conflict of various interests, of social and economic arguments. This is natural. The whole of reality is full of conflicts. However, the point is to resolve them in accordance with both the will of the working people employed here and also with the broader interest of society as a whole. The most depends on a good mix, on cooperation between management, the party organization, the worker council, the trade union, and the youth organization. They create the fundamental system of factory democracy. In this forum, the economic effectiveness of the enterprise should always win because on that depends, in the final reckoning, the material and moral satisfaction of the workforce, its sense of the value of the work, and its awareness that it is a co-manager inside these walls. This approach can and should become the broadest plane of national accord; a contemporary measure of the patriotism and civic responsibility of party and nonparty people, believers and nonbelievers; of all Poles.

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, dear Soviet guests,

During those several July days you were able to see for yourselves that restructuring is not only an internal affair of your great country. It awakens wide interest in socialist countries and in the whole world. The course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and resolution adopted there are further proof that reconstruction does not stop midway. It is not an episode, but a real turning point, and at the same time a lasting historical process.

Our community accepts this policy with earnest liking and deepest respect. You had numerous chances to hear and feel this personally. Poland has its difficult history and complicated present, but one thing is certain: Poland returns respect for respect, good for good, heart for heart. [applause] Let restructuring and socialist renewal, let Polish-Soviet cooperation yield an abundant crop for the good of our peoples, for the good of peace and socialism. [applause]

13 July Activities Reviewed

LD1407085888 Warsaw PAP in English
1843 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and wife Raisa, accompanied by Wojciech Jaruzelski and wife Barbara, today visited the Szczecin region, northern Poland.

The guests visited the crew of the Warski shipyard in Szczecin, met with the residents of the city—representing three generations of Poles who fought for this land, cultivated it and create its future. Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski paid homage to the Soviet and Polish soldiers who fell fighting to liberate the Szczecin region.

Welcoming Ceremony at Airport [subhead]

Welcome in this beautiful weather, stated Gorbachev from the steps of the special airplane to Jaruzelski who was awaiting him at the airport in Goleniow. Gorbachev was accompanied by wife Raisa.

The guests were greeted by: First secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Szczecin Stanislaw Miskiewicz, Chairman of the Voivodship People's Council Stefan Rogalski, Voivode Stanislaw Malec and the Commander of Pomeranian military district Gen. Zbigniew Blechman.

Moments after the greeting, Gorbachev approached, as he usually does, the residents of the Szczecin region gathered at the tarmac. Said he: I am happy that I arrived in a city which after centuries returned to the motherland. This is the result of toilsome work: patriotic and soldierly. That struggle was not to no avail. One must constantly recall the lessons of the history of both our countries. It was complicated and still the situation in our countries is not easy but these are other difficulties. Yesterday I told the residents of Krakow that we want to do and do everything so that things improve. This however, calls for time. I got the impression that all of us want the same. But some would like to have this today. This truely requires time. And one must tell the truth...

One of the people participating in the conversation added: But it is you who tells us the truth. Gorbachev replied: We do, but we are also learning to do this....

While Gorbachev talked and gave autographs, the wives of both leaders took interest in the repertoire and costumes of the children's folk ensemble "Zloty Rog" (Golden Horn) from Goleniow. Mrs. Gorbachev said with admiration: These are most beautiful costumes.

Before getting into his car, Mikhail Gorbachev signed yet another copy of his book "Perestroyka and New Thinking for Our Country and the World."

In Adolf Warski Shipyard [subhead]

The route of the motorcade ran along the King Chrobry bank of the Odra river where the biggest sailing vessel in the world, the Soviet "Sedov" has docked. Its mother port is Riga, a city which cooperates with Szczecin on a permanent basis.

The cars drove into the premises of the Warski shipyard which has won renown throughout the last forty years for building ever more modern sea-going vessels and is associated with the signing in 1980 of the August agreements between the workers and representatives of the state authorities.

After getting out of the car the Soviet guest was surrounded by shipyard workers of the K-2 hull building department, among them by Romuald Czaplicki, Mieczyslaw Cichon, Leszek Grzybowski, activists of former "Solidarnosc." Foreman Czaplicki stated: "The delegation of our department on numerous occasions visited various important places in the world. But there is one, very important place in Europe, which we did not visit. That is Moscow..." Gorbachev replied: "The matter is settled. You will also visit the Kremlin. You will meet our working class." The people gathered around Gorbachev received these words with applause.

Proceeding through the K-2 department, Mikhail Gorbachev talked to a group of workers. We, as all Poles, attentively follow everything which is now taking place in the Soviet Union, they said.

One of the workers said: "We support our leadership in its striving for renewal, we support Gen. Jaruzelski." The Soviet leader readily referred to this thought, stating: "Without the support of the working class no authority can push things through. Politics has sense only when it has the support of the nation."

Those who entered the yard's shop were greeted by an applause of a 1500-strong group of yard workers and their guests. A sign placed on a wall read: "Polish Renewal—Soviet Reconstruction, a Joint Road of the Development of Socialism". Near it a motto was placed: "We are at one with Soviet friends in the great work of reconstruction."

The guests were greeted by first secretary of the shipyard's factory level PUWP committee Zenon Pyda.

We are proud that the Adolf Warski shipyard is the place of a meeting of a leader of Soviet communists with workers of our region. In result of the liberation of these ancient Piast lands by Soviet and Polish soldiers, here in the Polish city of Szczecin, it was possible to create an enterprise whose importance for the development of the west Pomerania region, for people living here and building future for their children is hard to overestimate. The forty-year long history of our shipyard is an example of economic cooperation and development of friendship between Polish and Soviet people and of the search for new roads of development, based on the implementation of joint interest, said Zenon Pyda.

He recalled that the first decision to build sea-going ships was closely linked with the long-term economic agreement signed by Poland and the Soviet Union. Thanks to joint work, engineers' ideas and the effort of the Szczecin yard workers over 200 ships sailed or are sailing under the Soviet flag.

Peace was the necessary condition for dreams of pioneers of the Szczecin shipyard rebuilding it together with Soviet experts to come true. From the first post-revolutionary days, the Soviet Union's policy was based on peaceful coexistence. Your special activity, Comrade Secretary General, aimed to preserve peace in today's, very complex world is a guarantee and hope for further development and building of a better and happier tomorrow for entire mankind, said Pyda.

On behalf of the shipyard's crew, Zenon Pyda conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev and Soviet people wishes of best successes in the struggle for the strengthening of world peace and wished that politicians and societies from the entire world shared the ideas of reconstruction and new thinking.

The gathered workers listened with attention to the addresses delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev. The shipyard workers especially cordially welcomed Jaruzelski's words about their good work and successful implementation of the principles of reform. When Gorbachev pointed to the slogan "We are in solidarity with the Soviet friends in their tremendous cause of perestroyka," and said "Thank you for this" A standing ovation followed.

Applause also rang out when the CPSU CC general secretary presented representatives of the crew with a painting of a contemporary Soviet painter showing the Red Square.

The shipyard workers returned the favour by presenting Gorbachev with a model of the "Georg Ots" ship built in the yard which served the general secretary as his home during the Reykjavik meeting. Accepting the gift Gorbachev said: "This is a good ship and a good house. Not only a residence but a conference hall and site of many discussions in Reykjavik." The meeting of friendship concluded with the singing of the internationale.

Poland Begins Here [subhead]

From the shipyard the guests drove to Grunwaldzki Square in downtown Szczecin. The historic "Prince's Highway" starts here and leads to the castle of Pomeranian princes. Gorbachev and party covered the first section of this route, the park Alley of Springs, by foot.

They were greeted by applause, shouts of "Mikhail, Raisa," "May you live a hundred years." The Gorbachevs shook hundreds of hands, received dozens of flower bouquets, initialled a countless number of his book on perestroyka. The reisdents of Szczecin stopped their guests many a time.

A group of handcraftsmen presented Gorbachev with an artistic kilim featuring the Pomeranian griffon, the coat-of-arms of the city and nine coats-of-arms of Pomeranian princes. The stroll along the Alley of Springs ended at Lotnikow square.

From the route one has a wonderful view of the silhouette of the castle of Pomeranian princes. The castle is a symbol of the Szczecin region, the northern-and westernmost region of Poland. Poland starts here, stressed Gorbachev. On the banks of the Odra and the Baltic, lives, works and learns the third generation born and raised in people's Poland.

Among those welcoming the guest on the courtyard of the ancient castle was Szczecin's first president, outstanding urban planner Prof Piotr Zaremba. He presented Gorbachev with a copy of a stamp which West Pomeranian princes used to initial their correspondent with Polish kings.

The sacrifice of life and blood of Soviet soldiers who 43 years ago restored Szczecin and Western Pomerania to the motherland remains the the lasting memory of all of us, the residents of this land, stated Stanislaw Miskiewicz, the first secretary of the voivodship PUWP Committee in Szczecin.

We built our home here, following the war events tragic for the whole world, from scratch. We lifted it from ruins and ashes, we restored life to it, we arranged it to the best of our possibilities, not sparing work and sacrifice.

Gorbachev thanked for the warm reception in Szczecin, for the numerous expressions of friendship and cordiality which he encountered in this city. We are treading a common path which perestroyka and renewal map out. I had the best impressions from the ancient city from which Poland starts, the general secretary said.

I Wish You New Successes on This Native Polish Land [subhead]

After the tour of the castle the visitors arrived at the monument to Polish feat, composed of three eagles springing to fly—a symbol of the three generations of Poles who fought for Szczecin, reconstructed its war ruins and have been building its future.

Gorbachev laid a bunch of red roses at the monument. He gave his attention to explanations of Szczecin President Ryszard Rotkiewicz, who spoke about the symbolism of the monument.

Presented with a medal with three Szczecin eagles, Gorbachev said: "I address you at this sacred place with the words of greetings from the Soviet nation. I am happy that we can meet and together honour the memory of those who lost their lives in sacrifice in common struggle."

"Soviet people will be faithful to brotherhood-in-arms, friendship born in struggle. We can rely on the Soviet nation. I wish new successes on this historically Polish land, reborn in struggle and labour for the good of Poland and Poles," he stated.

The Sacrifice of Their Life Was Not Wasted [subhead]

A solemn ceremony took place next at the Szczecin central cemetery. Its middle section, near the foot of the monument to brotherhood in arms, is the site of the graves of Soviet and Polish soldiers. It is here that the esteemed guests arrived. The ashes of over 3 thousand Soviet soldiers who fell in battles for Szczecin and 364 Polish soldiers who fell on the battle route to Berlin rest here. Some graves carry no names, others lack birth and death dates. Only the year in which they died is the same: 1945. Two months at most before the war was over...

Gorbachev and Jaruzelski laid wreaths of white-and-red roses at the monument to brotherhood in arms. The wreath-laying ceremony was accompanied by a guard of honour.

I Believe in Farmers [subhead]

Meetings with farmers were the last stage of Gorbachev's visit to the Szczecin region. The Gumienice horticulture state farm lies in the close vicinity of the Polish border. The distinguished guests toured greenhouses where the work is conducted on laboratory plant reproduction. The farm is one of few centres in Poland which carry on such experiences.

"We have seen here that Polish farmers can well run their farms. You have been using your land properly so that it should give possibly biggest crops. Agriculture must feed the entire nation. That is why necessary is good work, the use of all possibilities and human knowledge. I like talks with farmers and such visits are always useful in my country. I simply believe in farmers and I also believe that the residents of Polish countryside are able to do much. If we unite our strength and knowledge, all of us will better live," the Soviet leader told the farm's crew.

When a family of private-farmer Franciszek Bakan greeted Gorbachev with bread and salt at their house's doorstep in Modrzew, the latter's first question was whether they baked the bread by themselves. The answer was negative. "The bread was bought at a bakery. A modern farm must specialize, and we cannot disperse our energy in various fields," farmers said.

The Bakan family runs their farm on 28 ha the most of which are grassland. hence specialization—milk production and stock-raising.

After visiting farm buildings by the guests, Fr. Bakan invited them to a house where a common photograph of both leaders and their wives with the entire family of the Bakans was taken. Talks on agriculture and efficient management were held at the table in a family mood. Gorbachev took interest even in the details of agricultural problems. He asked about prices of agricultural produce, the volume of the crops, profitability of animal husbandry and the amount of credits raised in bank. His recognition was aroused by the fact that the Bakans did not take advantage of the hired workforce and members of the family did all kinds of work.

Raisa Gorbachev asked about the life of rural women in Poland, about everyday troubles linked to shopping and lines. Mikhail Gorbacvev concluded: "I see that you are necessary for this soil and that this soil needs you. Novelties in agriculture are introduced also in our country but one should wait for results."

The guests presented gifts to Mr. and Mrs. Bakan and their family. The gifts included a beautifully edited album on Moscow with a handwritten dedication: "I wish you further crops and all prosperity—Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev."

After a cordial farewell at the Goleniow airport, Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife left for Warsaw at 9.30 p.m.

The visit to the Szczecin region, whose residents gave warm and spontaneous welcome to the honourable guests, lasted longer by 3 hours.

Tomorrow will be the next day of the visit.

Urban, Gerasimov Discuss Current Issues

On German State Relations

LD1307222088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2040 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] This evening in Szczecin a news conference was held by Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov and Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] [Word indistinct] of KURIER SZCZIECINSKI.

[Unidentified speaker] There is no way in which the presence of Mikhail Gorbachev precisely in Szczecin can be separated from the policy of the two German states in Europe. Is that view confirmed by both spokesmen? Would they like to make some statement on this matter here?

[Gerasimov in Russian with superimpsed Polish translation] We have friendly relations with the GDR and when Mikhail Gorbachev spoke to people on the street today, one of the thoughts which he expressed was the one that your city is on the border; what are your relations with the GDR like? It is our friend, a state which arose as a result of the war, and naturally we are linked by friendly relations.

If it is a question of the FRG, we desire normal relations with it. It would say that now they are developing not at all badly. We have good trade relations. The FRG's political stance on many matters is positive. For example, it accepted the signing of the treaty for the elimination of shorter-and medium-range missiles. Because some of these missiles are on West German territory and despite some wavering the FRG Government supported the treaty and agreed to the removal and destruction of these missiles.

One could also cite numerous statements by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, which in our opinion are positive. For example, he deems it necessary to examine and study seriously the Soviet proposals for reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe. In this regard he is ahead of many of his counterparts and other Western foreign ministries.

Thus we consider that the two German states arose historically as a result of the war, and that the two states are developing along their own paths. We have friendship and cooperation with the GDR as a member of the socialist community, and we advocate normal relations with the FRG. [end recording]

The UPI correspondent asked about the state of relations between Poland and the GDR over the division of the strip of coastal waters in Pomorze Bay.

[Begin Urban recording] This, as I understand it, is a question to me. Well, always, or almost always, if countries are continguous there are matters of dispute between them. Such a matter of dispute, not only between Poland and the GDR, but between many countries in the world today, [words indistinct] when waters cut into [word indistinct]. There is such a situation between the GDR and Poland.

During the recent meeting between the two countries' leaders in Wroclaw, it was decided that this dispute should be resolved in the spirit of traditional friendship and good cooperation, that the basis of that resolution would be the principle of free access of Polish ports to the open sea, and that it will be...[Urban changes thought] The leaders [word indistinct] that this problem should be resolved quickly. In the wake of this there was a meeting of experts. Presumably the experts will continue their work, (?since problems) in the field of international maritime law are usually complicated and treaty material is difficult. The two states' foreign ministers are to meet soon on this matter (?to conclude) the work of the experts.

So, this matter should not (?be given) a sensational dimension. It is an episode in the good and friendly relations that have linked Poland and the GDR for years. [end recording]

On Shipyard Speech

LD1307232388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2210 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Excerpts] During Mikhail Gorbachev's stay in Szczecin there was a press conference with Gennadiy Gerasimov and Jerzy Urban. [passage omitted]

The spokesmen of the two delegations answered journalists' questions. The first was from Wlodzimierz Lodzinski of TRYBUNA LUDU. He asked why Mikhail Gorbachev decided against reading in the shipyard the prepared speech and spoke off the cuff instead.

[Begin Gerasimov recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] Gorbachev had a prepared text: This is natural, this is how it is done. But I think he was so touched both by Jaruzelski's first speech and by the whole very friendly atmosphere during his meeting with the workers that he set his speech aside. He thus almost caused fainting fits among the TASS representatives who had embargoed his speech and who had to write it all out again and retransmit it. I believe that this is an episode which shows the emotional tension of this visit. [end recording] [passage omitted]

At the end of meeting Minister Jerzy Urban once again took the floor.

[Begin Urban recording] Western agencies, I am told, are today reporting that in their opinion a strike broke out in Stalowa Wola, and that strike is said to be connected with the visit taking place. I would like to say that there is no strike in Stalowa Wola, which in any case is in part an armaments enterprise. There was an attempt there by a not very large group of people to call a strike, but the strike did not begin. The news of this and also the various commentaries and consequences resulting from these untruthful reports are erroneous. [end recording]

On Public Opinion of Events

LD1407013688 Warsaw PAP in English 0016 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin, July 13—Polish and Soviet spokesmen Jerzy Urban and Gennadiy Gerasimov on Wednesday met with Polish and foreign newsmen who had come to cover the visit of the CPSU CC general secretary.

Today, Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev continued making their acquaintance with Poland, Gerasimov said. The implementation of the programme of the visit in Szczecin, just like earlier in Krakow, was delayed as a result of numerous meetings and exchanges of views with the city residents. What is most important in them is the mood which accompanies them.

One is astonished by such sincere feelings and the Poles great interest in what is going on in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the slogan in the shipyard to the effect that both our peoples are at one in striving for renewal and restructuring, Gerasimov said.

Next both newsmen answered questions.

Asked whether there was a noticeable evolution in the attitudes of the Poles towards the Soviet Union in recent years, Gerasimov admitted it was true and said this was due to the perestroyka and the Poles interest in it. We are following the same path. There are inevitable problems that accompany this, but we can overcome them, he said.

On his part Urban quoted the results of a poll carried out by the public opinion research centre, according to which at the end of last year 66.5 per cent of the Poles declared their positive moods towards the USSR, which has a broader dimension than attitudes towards perestroyka and glasnost. Only 9.5 per cent displayed a negative attitude, while the rest had mixed feelings: positive and critical at the same time.

In March 1985—24.4 per cent of Poles said that changes for the better had taken place in the Soviet Union, while in February this year this figure grew to 68.4 per cent. 3.4 per cent of Poles have negative assessments of perestroyka.

As far as the assessment of Polish-Soviet relations is concerned, 58.6 per cent of the polled Poles considered these relations good or very good in February 1987. The figure jumped in October last year to 75.3 per cent. On the other hand the number of those who term these relations as bad was 3.8 per cent then.

I must stress I am not speaking about the Poles attitude to perestroyka, to reforms in the Soviet Union and to Gorbachevs policy because these opinions are extremely positive. Thus the former ones do not refer only to what is attracting the positive attention of the world in the Soviet policies, Urban said.

I may also add that I had a chance to briefly talk to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski who is greatly captivated by the atmosphere in Szczecin, extremely spontaneous and cordial. If I properly understood what Mikhail Gorbachev was saying in the castle in Szczecin, he voiced doubts whether he could have taken such a walk in the streets of this city a few years ago. He also stressed this was the fruit of political changes in Poland, the merit for which he attributed to the Polish party and Polish communists.

One of the reporters asked the spokesmen whether they shared a view that one could not possibly separate Mikhail Gorbachevs stay in the Szczecin area from the policy towards the German states.

Gerasimov replied: We have very good relations with the GDR. Mikhail Gorbachev was asked about it during one of the talks and he replied that Szczecin was situated on the border behind which the GDR was—it was our friend with whom we had very good relations.

The Soviet spokesman said that recently the USSR had favourable relations with the second German state, the FRG. This particularly refers to trade relations. Positive changes are also taking place in that countrys foreign policy. The FRG Government supported efforts to eliminate medium and shorter range missiles and agreed to eliminate them on its territory. Statements made by Foreign Minister Genscher contain positive elements concerning the possibility to reduce forces in Europe and this stand outpaces some other Western states. We have good relations with both German states, Gerasimov concluded.

Asked what elements of Polish renewal were endorsing the Soviet perestroyka in particular, Gerasimov said: We are studying Polish experiences and these elements which may prove useful for us. It would be good if all socialist states, instead of lecturing, were learning from one another. I do not want to go into detail but we can draw much from your legal regulations for instance.

Asked by a UPI correspondent about any new elements concerning the delimitation of Baltic waters between Poland and the GDR, Urban said: It is always or nearly always so that when some countries are neighbouring and have a common border, then disputable issues arise between them. Such a disputable issue, not only between Poland and the GDR but between many countries the world over, is the question of delimitation of waters which cut into the land. This situation also pertains to the GDR and Poland. The recent meeting between the Polish and GDR leaders in Wroclaw decided that this dispute will be settled in the spirit of traditional friendship, good cooperation and that the basis for this settlement will be provided by granting a free access to Polish ports and open sea. Both leaders also expressed the will to solve this problem quickly. A meeting of experts followed and probably they will continue their work because matters of maritime law and international law are extremely complicated, complex and the treaty matter is difficult. Foreign ministers of both countries are to meet on this issue soon. This issue should not be given any sensational dimension. This is just an episode in friendly relations which have been linking Poland and the GDR for years.

A correspondent of the news of Canada said he heard a statement to the effect that there are matters of political errors which should be avoided and asked what errors are meant and why Gorbachevs itinerary from Warsaw through Krakow to Szczecin is being described as symbolic.

Gerasimov replied: Political errors do happen but one has to pay for them. The entire people is paying for them. We write much in our press about Stalins role in history. We write about his errors committed in 1941. We had to pay much for this. Some are of the opinion that had not it been for these errors fewer people would have died, but others think that had not it been for the errors there would have been no Stalin.

As to Mikhail Gorbachevs reference to the symbolic meaning of his journey, what he had in mind was that both at Poronin and at Bialy Dunajec in a way he touched on the past, the years in which Lenin was preparing the revolution. visiting Szczecin, Mikhail Gorbachev sees that the road started in those places is continued also here.

Gorbachev Continues Official Visit 14 Jul

Addresses Intellectuals

LD1407094588 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 14 TASS—TASS special correspondents report:

The fourth day of the official friendly visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Polish People's Republic has started with a visit to the royal castle situated in Stare Miasto, the historic centre of Warsaw. After seeing the castle that was fully destroyed during World War II and restored several years ago Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting in one of its halls with scientists and cultural personalities of Poland. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee made a speech there.

Gorbachev Visit, Reform Parallels Examined

AU1307120588 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Jul 88 p 1

[Commentary by Tadeusz Mitek: " 'Perestroyka' and Renewal"]

[Text] Today, we are going to welcome the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary on Polish soil. He will be coming to pay an official visit to our country. We are going to be playing host to a statesman whose policies are winning recognition and respect all over the world and whose name is linked with universal hopes of maintaining world peace, progress in disarmament, and a new model of international relations. But, first and foremost, we are awaiting Mikhail Gorbachev as a leader who symbolizes the institutional, political, and economic changes taking place in the Soviet state.

This is the first visit that Mikhail Gorbachev will be making since the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, at which perestroyka and the general secretary personally scored an undoubted success. The innovative policy and the decisions that it has given rise to have received support from Soviet society and have supplied a new impetus—in view of the close ties between our states—to reform-oriented forces in Poland. The success of "the Gorbachev line" also bolsters the processes and concepts connected with our program of socialist renewal.

Today, our parties and states are linked by a similar way of thinking about future prospects for the development of our institutions. Setting aside elements that stem from historical factors or conditions that are peculiar either to Poland or the Soviet Union, one can point to many similarities between, on the one hand, the long-term program adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress and the resolution adopted at the conference of Soviet Communists and, on the other hand, the concepts adopted at the ninth and tenth congresses and the substance of the recent Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

In particular, we both believe that we have to depart from dogmatic thinking and replace it with a creative conception of Marxism and that this also means change in all areas of life. This particularly applies to the political sphere, in which calls for more socialism must be accompanied by the principle of more democracy and more openness, which was something that was put into practice so successfully at the Moscow conference. This principle must be implemented in all areas, including efforts to change the political system, modify economic mechanisms, strengthen democracy, and unite various social forces around further institutional changes.

This is a view shared by both parties, by both the CPSU and the PZPR. That is why they share a common desire of making party activity truly Leninist in character and restoring to the party the role of a vanguard, a role of political, ideological, and moral leadership in society. It should also be said that we have certain common fears and that we are faced with common pressing needs. Our fears concern the might of the bureaucracy that has grown up under our system and remains intact. The effect of this is that in many areas reforms get bogged down and are whittled away. This is why public opinion is still not fully convinced that the mechanisms hampering change have been disabled once and for all and that there will not be a return to the old practices on which reformist intentions foundered.

On the other hand, the needs that we face stem from a critical appraisal of the changes that have been instituted so far, especially in the economy. Both the 19th conference in Moscow and the seventh plenum in Warsaw concluded that expectations continue to exceed achievements and that results are still insufficiently tangible in the eyes of society. This is what lies behind the decisions to accelerate change and rapidly introduce innovative concepts into social and economic reality, into citizens' everyday lives.

Thus, Mikhail Gorbachev will be visiting Poland at a time when we are united in our desire to throw off ineffective, outmoded institutional constraints and by the belief that renewal and restructuring are right. We consider these processes to be the natural product of the internal dynamic of the development of the socialist system. All these things lead one to believe that at no point in the past have reform-oriented actions encountered such extensive mutual understanding, support, and acceptance from both our governments and peoples.

That is why there are perfectly good grounds for expecting Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to mark the opening of a new stage in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union and to be of historic importance. Our political, military, and ideological alliance and traditional Polish-Soviet friendship will be strengthened by the bond stemming from common efforts aimed at achieving the same goal: transforming socialism so that it assumes the full splendor of its social and humanist values.

Poles Surveyed on USSR Ties, Pact Membership

PM1407114788 Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 6 Jul 88 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "Attitudes Toward the Eastern Neighbor: Likes and Dislikes"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Polish and Russian fortunes have always been closely interlinked, for better and for worse, from time immemorial to the present day; consequently, all Poles are now watching most attentively the changes taking place in the USSR and attempting to construe their influence on the international political situation—on a worldwide scale, in Europe, and in individual states, including Poland. Against the background of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland the topicality of the questions of how Poles perceive the Soviet Union and what attitude they adopt toward that country has become even more urgent. Answers to these questions were sought by the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS], an institution one can always rely on in research of this kind.

The latest CBOS surveys conclude that 69.6 percent of those questioned regard the USSR in a positive light, 13.7 percent view it negatively, and 16.2 percent declare indifference. The degree of these positive or negative attitudes depends on the respondents' age, area of residence, education, and political interests. The most positive feelings are expressed by young people under 25 years of age (68.3 percent) and older people over 45 years of age (72.3 percent), while the highest level of antipathy is declared by middle-aged respondents (16.6 percent). As a rule, residents of rural communities and smaller urban complexes, as well as those with high school education, show a more positive attitude toward the USSR than esidents of large conurbations and graduates. A more positive attitude toward the USSR also depends on the respondents' party affiliation and their interest in political issues. As many as 80 percent of those respondents who declared a high degree of interest in political issues expressed a positive attitude toward the USSR, against the 68.2 percent of those who declared a lack of interest in politics.

Polish-soviet relations were assessed as good by 58.6 percent of those questioned, as "neither good nor bad" by 26.4 percent, and as bad by 6.1 percent; 8.7 percent of respondents were unable to evaluate them. Within the past 2 years the percentage of persons who list the USSR among our allies rose from 38.7 in August 1986 to 45.7 in February 1988. In the same period the number of those who regard the USSR as a state which poses a threat to Polish national interests fell from 14.9 percent to 12 percent. A confirmed majority of those questioned—70 percent—were in favor of Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact, fewer than 27 percent would welcome Poland's resignation from the pact, and fewer than 3 percent could not take a firm stand on the question. Of the 27 percent of those who would support Poland's resignation from the pact, as many as 85 percent were in favor of Poland declaring neutrality, 12 percent favored Poland's entering a military alliance with the West, and 2.6 percent took no stand.

Opinions on economic cooperation were structured somewhat differently. The view that it should become closer was represented by 53 percent of respondents, while 23.9 percent were in favor of limiting its extent. The Soviet Union's attitude toward Polish borders exerts a decisive influence on people's opinion of the need for political and military cooperation and their sense of national security. As regards people's assessment of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation and the need for its continued development, there is still much bias in the way they view the declared principles of equality and mutual advantage. That critical assessment is also to a certain extent reinforced by the relatively low level and effectiveness of our integration within the CEMA.

Soviet Disarmament Experts Hold News Conference

LD1207215988 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 12 Jul 88

[By Stanislaw Filipczak, Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Soviet military-disarmament experts Yevgeniy Primakov, Gennadiy Batenin and Yuriy Markelov in the afternoon today held a press conference for Polish and foreign newsmen at the Press Centre for the Gorbachev visit here.

They presented two key principles of perestroyka as it figures in Soviet foreign policy. The first is a conviction that the utmost should be done to prevent a continuation of those trends which pose the threat of mankind's self-annihilation. The second consists in a conviction that the democratization and humanization of the principles of internal policy must be accompanied by appropriate changes in foreign policy.

Replying to questions posed by newsmen, the Soviet experts stressed that the issue of Afghanistan should not be reviewed retrospectively anymore but in the context of all the sides fulfilling their commitments. The Soviet Union strictly abides by all the agreements and deadlines, the experts stressed.

Asked for an evaluation of the implementation of the proposal forwarded by Gorbachev in Vladivostok two years ago, the Soviet experts stated that it gave rise to a score of concrete steps aimed at decreasing tension in the world as well as being an impulse to start the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

One of the questions concerned the Soviet Union's readiness to withdraw Soviet troops stationed in Warsaw Treaty states. The Soviet experts stressed that the USSR proceeded from the principle that all armies in the world should be stationed on their own national territories. The problem, nevertheless, remains of NATO—especially the U.S.—adopting the same principle, the Soviet experts pointed out.

Sejm Discusses Housing, Conservation Policy

LD1307132188 Warsaw PAP in English
1142 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 13—During today's Sejm (Polish parliament) debate, deputy Tadeusz Bilinski, authorised by the concerned Sejm committees, presented report on these committees' work on a report of the government concerning implementation of Sejm's 1984 resolution on housing policy.

Deputy Bilinski stated that the government programme of housing construction was universally approved and pointed to its advantages, emphasizing that it provides a chance to break the impasse and allows hope for better development of housing construction in nearest future.

Deputy Wojciech Budzynski, taking the floor on behalf of three Sejm committees, presented the course and effects of deputies' discussions on government draft bills having essential significance for development of housing construction. The draft bills concerned are bills on fund for structural changes in industry and fund for development of housing constructing.

Reports on government draft bills concerning changes in the laws on spatial planning, protection of agricultural and forest lands as well as of government draft bill on land economy and expropriation of immovables were presented by Deputy Jozef Szawiec.

The deputies' reports were followed by discussion.

Bank President Appointed

LD1307163288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] On the last day of the Sejm's spring session, the chamber passed five acts directly promoting the development of housing construction. An act of great significance from the viewpoint of civic rights and respect for the beliefs of individual citizens was also passed. This was the amendment to the act on the general obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic. Conscripts will now be able, if their religious beliefs or moral principles are such, to apply to the Regional Conscription Commission to send them on alternative service.

The Sejm has made a change in the post of president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP], recalling Wladyslaw Baka from this post, in view of his resignation in connection with his election as party Central Committee secretary. The new president of the NBP is Zdislaw Pakula.

The 3-day Sejm meeting ended with deputies' questions and replies from government representatives.

The next Sejm meeting will probably not take place until September.

Daily Rejects Interference in Internal Affairs

AU0607122388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1120 GMT 6 Jul 88

["Daily SCINTEIA on the People's Role in Building Their Own Destiny in an Aware Manner"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6/7/1988—The role of a creator of history, incumbent on each people, has as a law-like corollary the acknowledgement of the fact that each people is the sole master of its own destiny, reads a commentary in daily SCINTEIA, which refers to the theses recently endorsed by the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP. Each people has and must have the inalienable and improscribable right to choose self-dependently the path of its own economic and social development, in keeping with its will and the possibilities at that moment or at that stage, stresses the quoted daily, noting that from the people's role as builder of all the great social and economic achievements also results objectively the right—strongly asserted by Romania—to use to this end the ways and means which it thinks most adequate.

In this light, the daily stresses, clearly emerges the inadmissibility of any interference in the domestic affairs of other peoples. In practical terms such interferences are forms of denying or disregarding the right to historical creation of any people, showing lack of confidence in their capacity to make an option and act, means assuming the right to think for someone else, to give other people tutorship and exert control over them, to "advise" them; ultimately it means an unacceptable substitution of a people which should build their own history and organize their life the way they think most fit.

Representing the decisive factor of the domestic social and economic development of each country, peoples are at the same time the decisive force behind the evolution of the international relations, apt to ensure solutions to the great issues of the world. This is particularly obvious under the contemporary circumstances, when it is on the peoples' action that depends to a decisive extent the implementation of such important goals as disarmament, nuclear in the first place, the safeguarding of the people's supreme right to life, a free and dignified existence, the extinguishing of the hotbeds of tension and conflict by political means, the eradication of the economic gaps and of the division of the world into rich and poor, and the entire process of building a new world political and economic order. These are fundamental tasks regarding the entire world community, and consequently all the peoples are called to make their own contribution to solving them.

The success of the peoples' struggle for the implementation of these grandiose goals of a worldwide nature depends on the peoples' joint effort, on their united and converging action, an imperative once more set forth by Romania, continues the daily, then adding: The peoples of the world are called to join each other and collaborate more and more tightly and work in full unity, in a world front, this representing the guarantee for the fulfillment of the aspirations after progress and peaceful development of the whole world. This is the spirit in which Romania has been working according to a renewing, widely embracing vision—above any narrow and sectarian approaches—of the solidarity with and among all the progressive and realistic social forces of the contemporary world.

Just as consistently Romania works for a new, open policy and diplomacy, a policy worked out with the aware participation of peoples, under their own eyes and within their hearing range, taking into account their will and aspirations. It is only such a policy that may enjoy the widest support of the people and ensure a wide mobilization of the peoples in their effort to materialize it, concludes daily SCINTEIA.

'Inalienable Right' To 'Develop Freely' Asserted

AU1307121488 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Jul 88 p 6

[Lecturer Dr Victor Duculescu article: "The Inalienable Right of Each State and Each People To Develop Freely and in Accordance With Its Own Desires and Aspirations"—passages within slantlines in block print]

[Excerpts] /We firmly advocate new relations of complete equality among all nations based on respect for independence, sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs and on respect for each people's right to choose the road to development it desires, without any outside interference. Nicolae Ceausescu/

Developments in the international situation offer the image of complex and contradictory phenomena. Despite the successes achieved by the forces of peace, which have been able to enforce a certain beginning of detente, the world situation continues to be serious and the threat of a nuclear war still exists. [passage omitted]

Emphasizing the value and importance of efforts for peace, disarmament, and a new trend toward a democratic international policy, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the imperative need to promote /"a new thinking and a new international policy that will completely eliminate the policy of force, dictation, and interference in the domestic affairs of other states."/ [passage omitted]

The principles of international relations—which are to interstate relations as air and water are to man's existence, as the party secretary general put it, using an excellent metaphor—increasingly affirm themselves today as the only norms of conduct on the basis of which we can build peace and establish relations of trust and cooperation among nations.

The basic principle of international law and relations, the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, emerged from the need to guarantee the observance of sovereignty and to prohibit any manifestations, actions, or attitudes aimed at disputing or diminishing the significance of each people's right to freely decide on its destiny. [passage omitted]

Through its content, the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of states includes important provisions designed to guarantee complete respect for each people's sovereignty, the legitimacy of its own political options, and the recognition of each nation's opportunity to choose its own economic, political, social, and cultural system, without any outside interference. In a correlative way, this principle stipulates the complete and definitive prohibition of any manifestation that would harm the territorial integrity or political independence of states. [passage omitted]

Going beyond the situation prohibited by international law, interference in our age has become a redoutable weapon of former policies and it has turned into an instrument with which to lend former relations a permanent nature.

It is no coincidence that, under conditions of sharpened confrontations in the international arena, the forms of intervention have expanded and diversified. Along with military and economic intervention—still present in the international arena—new forms of interference in the affairs of states have emerged, which tend—in the most obscure and disguised forms, but whose essence is the same—to question each people's sovereign right to choose its political road. Thus the so-called "humanitarian" intervention is intensifying at this point which is, in fact, an overt attempt by certain political circles to question the sovereign options and political system chosen by each country independently. [passage omitted]

It is said that "questioning" and "drawing attention" to humanitarian problems is not considered intervention, but solely customary "normal" practice that will not be abandoned in the international activity.

However, a careful study of former or more recent cases of intervention proves that all forms of intervention are equally dangerous. Moreover, intervention—under any circumstances—can only be a source of tension and conflict and a way to spoil and distort relations between states. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu justifiably said: /"interference—in any form—in the affairs of other peoples hampers their social progress, generates tension and mistrust between states, harms international cooperation, and threatens the cause of peace."/ [passage omitted]

'Broad International Openness' of Foreign Policy

AU1207104188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 12 Jul 88

["A Policy of Broad International Openess, of Developing Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 12/7/1988—In its first commentary of a series devoted to the foreign policy Romania has promoted since the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (July 1965) "SCINTEIA" underscores the broad international openness of that policy related to the development of collaboration with all the progressive forces in the world.

A characteristic, distinctive feature of Romania's foreign policy in that interval, the newspaper writes, was and still is its consistent and firm orientation toward the development of friendly and cooperative relations with and among all the socialist countries. Romania has tenaciously militated for the achievement of a new, superior unity of socialist countries.

Showing that, as reality proves, the new system is built and improved in a wide variety of historical, national and social conditions—as Romania has always emphasized—which calls for a creative application of the general laws of socialism, the newspaper writes: The RCP has powerfully backed the necessity that the indefeasible right of each party, of each socialist country, be observed to set its strategy and tactics, its political line in an autonomous, independent and sovereign way in keeping with the concrete conditions it works in, with the requirements of a certain stage of socialist construction, which precludes the export of revolution or counterrevolution.

In this framework, the newspaper goes on, during the entire period since the ninth congress Romania has worked for the development of friendly and cooperative relations based on equality, mutual observance of sovereignty with all the states building the new system. The evolution of this principled orientation proved its value in the expansion and diversification of the ties with the other socialist countries in all fields—on political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural planes, as well as on international plane.

Referring to another major component of the Romanian foreign policy—the development of cooperation with the developing countries—the newspaper writes: The collaboration with the developing countries has permanently developed both bilaterally and internationally, Romania has always made proposals and supports those countries' actions and desiderata of liquidating underdevelopment, of solving the foreign debts problem, of democratizing interstate relations and building the new world economic order.

At the same time, the Romanian newspaper shows, Romania has promoted a policy of collaboration with developed capitalist states in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, starting from the consideration that the differences in social system should not affect cooperation but—on the contrary—they need it as a requirement of international understanding and detente, of progress in general. In that framework Romania's actions for normalizing interstate relations has an important role in the beginning and development of the process of detente and cooperation on all-European plane, in the interest of achieving security on the continent.

The commentary also underlines the RCP's activity for developing relations of collaboration with and among all Communist and worker parties, socialist and social democratic parties, national liberation movements, liberal- and radical-oriented parties, considering that the joining of the efforts of all advanced, realistic forces, regardless of political and philosophical conceptions, is one of the major requirements of the world revolutionary process, of safeguarding peoples' supreme right to peace, to life, of mankind's progress.

Ceausescu Message to Mongolian Leader Batmonh

AU1207162888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jul 88 p 5

["On the Great National Holiday of the Mongolian People," greetings message from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, to Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ulaanbaatar

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people, and on my own behalf, I convey to you, to the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and to the friendly Mongolian people, warm greetings together with best wishes, on the occasion of the national day of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Romanian people are familiar with and sincerely rejoice in the successes obtained by the friendly Mongolian people in building the socialist society.

I express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will continue to develop, in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the SR of Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic and with our decisions and the understandings we reached during our meeting and talks in Ulaanbaatar, for the benefit of our people and in the interest of the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

On the national day of the Mongolian People's Republic, I extend to you, to the communists, and to the whole friendly Mongolian people wishes for complete success in implementing the decisions of the 19th MPRP Congress in your whole activity devoted to building socialism on the soil of your homeland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

Dascalescu, Others Cable Mongolian Counterparts

AU1207171688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jul 88 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, sent a telegram to Comrade Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic and conveyed him warm, friendly greetings and most sincere congratulations on the 67th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution.

The cable expresses the belief that, though joint efforts, the governments of the two countries will increase their contribution to developing relations of close cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic, in the spirit of the talks and understandings reached at summit level.

On the 67th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, also sent greetings telegrams to their counterparts in the Mongolian People's Republic. On the same occasion, mass and civic organizations and central institutions in our country sent greetings messages to similar organizations and institutions in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Ceausescu Receives Ethiopian Official in Neptun

AU1207181188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 12/7/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of Romania, received, Tuesday 12 July at Neptun Resort, Tesfaye Dinka, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, currently visiting Romania.

A message was handed over to President Nicolae Ceausescu from the secretary-general of the CC of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The interview covered the development of Romanian-Ethiopian relations in the spirit of summit understandings, especially in trade, and cooperation in industry, agriculture and mining, on the basis of mutual advantage and in the interests of both states and peoples.

The reception was an opportunity for an exchange of messages between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Rural 'Modernization' Program Described

AU0507132588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1158 GMT 5 Jul 88

["Physical Planning and Modernization for the Economic and Social Progress of Rural Localities"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 05/07/1988—Under the above title, SCINTEIA of 5 July runs an article by Adrian Alecsandrescu, director of the Research and Design Institute for Physical Planning, Housing and Communal Husbanding, on the current stage of implementation of the national programme for the physical planning of Romania's territory and localities, as part of the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Outcome of the application of the physical planning programme, the author of the article points out, qualitative changes have occurred in the built environment: The number of towns grew from 183 in 1965 to 237 at present. Over the same period, the urban population rose from 6.1 million to 11.9 million, accounting today for 51.5 per cent of the country's total population. Part of the ample process of urbanization, over three million dwellings were built in the last twenty years, and two-thirds of the urban population moved in new apartments.

Currently, the article shows, at the research and design institute for physical planning, housing and communal husbanding extensive studies are being worked out on the territorial-administrative organization of rural areas and the structure of locality network, the creation of new agroindustrial centres and commune seats. Analyzing the locality network and their organization in locality systems, of various complexity degrees, at an intercommune, town and county level, the studies aim at providing all sorts of territorial and local facilities and services for the population.

The principles, criteria and norms of organization and reorganization of localities are differentiated by geographic areas and regions specific to this country. The studies start from average sizes of communes in point of administrative territory, farm land, population and belonging villages, from average sizes of the farm territories coordinated by an agro-industrial council and from the number of communes in its radius of activity. All these elements are adjusted to the major forms of relief. The analysis made in all counties showed that average norms may be applied, but there are also some exceptions, which require realistic and differentiated approaches considering the peculiarities and specific of the respective localities.

The application of dimension norms for localities adopted in 1986 will help reclaim the terrains left available for agriculture. The criteria to be applied in the reorganization of communes refer to the opportunities for economic and social development in perspective, so as to achieve an annual economic turnover of at least 30,000 lei per capita by 2000, including activities in agriculture, forestry, national industry, small-scale industry and services, exploitation of subsoil resources, tourism, water management and use of roads.

Other criteria are considered such as the size the administrative and farm territories, differentiated by specific areas, the average population of one commune which should be of at least 5,000 in the plain and 2,000 in hilly and mountainous regions.

Agroindustrial urban centres will boast important industrial units and farm units by branches specific to every region, small industrial units will be created and services developed. Learning, cultural and health protection units will be also created in these centres. Besides general and vocational schools, high schools will also be set up (second stage included) to secure the twelve-year education, and cultural houses will work as "Song to Romania" centres of culture and technical creation. Hospitals with 100 beds, maternity houses and chemist's shops as well as other units for public use—bathing houses, bakeries, agroindustrial market places sports grounds will be built in each agroindustrial urban centres.

As for the grouping of the existing villages in order to reduce their number, responsible factors in almost all fields analyze and make proposals considering numerous principles and criteria: economic and demographic strengthening of the villages, growth of density in housing areas and provision of socio-cultural and technical facilities in conditions of proper economic efficiency. As the author of the article shows, small villages are in view, scattered in the territory, with a decreasing population, with no facilities and amenities and no prospects of economic development. An analysis is made of the economic activities in farm, industrial, forestry and touristic units, etc: the number of inhabitants, the demographic growth, socio-cultural, shopping facilities and services, urban amenities connections and accesses by categories of roads, historic importance of villages, vestiges, monuments, in brief, all the specific, concrete conditions in each locality.

'Accumulation Policy' Stimulates Economic Growth

AU0807111688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 8 Jul 88

["The Accumulation Policy—Decisive for Romania's Economic and Social Progress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8/7/1988—Since the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970) Romania has consistently opted for a high rate of accumulation to meet the demand for a greater effort that it had to make itself to modernize production, increase the national income and improve the standard of living of its people.

The Ninth RCP Congress—the 23rd anniversary of which we will celebrate in a couple of days—worked out that policy, which proved out visionary, starting from the idea of narrowing down the gap separating Romania from the economically developed countries in the shortest possible time. Romania, a less developed country set to itself to become a developing country before long and join the medium-developed countries, to become a multilaterally developed country at the close of the century.

A higher rate of accumulation—from 17 percent of the national income over 1956-1960 to about one third of it in the next five five-year plans—brought about a strong growth of the socialist property, of the forces of production more particularly. The five years from 1966 to 1970 marked a substantially greater investment in the national economy: 65 percent up on the previous five years in absolute figures, investment increased with every five-year plan in 1971-1975 it was 218,183 million lei (or 66 percent) larger than in 1966-1970. In the 1976-1980 and 1981-1985 five-year plans, investment was the greatest ever. The total investment in those ten years was about 55 percent up on the total investment in the previous five five-year periods spanning 1951-1975.

A comparison of key economic indicators in the 15 years after the Ninth RCP Congress against the 15 years that preceded it shows the remarkable effects of that policy. Fixed assets increased by 310 billion lei in the first period, but reached 1,350 billion lei in the second; new jobs totalled 2.2 million in the first period and a high 3.1 million in the second; sales increased by 52 billion lei in the first period and by 150 billion lei in the second.

A high rate of accumulation has been behind the systematic increase of the national income, of the accumulation as well as the consumption fund. The national income in 1981-1985 was 12.5 times as high as the national income in 1951-1955; the total accumulation fund was 19.9 times as large, investment 18.5 times as high and the consumption fund 11 times as great.

The Romanian experience, the higher incomes the population has made for the past twenty years—earned or from social funds—the resolution in broad lines of the housing problem, the better quality of life etc. have fully confirmed one fact, namely that with a high rate of accumulation the pace at which the standard of living has improved was not slower, but faster. The average annual growth of the consumption fund was of some 15 billion lei in the past twenty-two years when the accumulation fund was about one third of the national income, up from just five billion lei during the previous five-year periods when the rate of accumulation was one fifth of the national income. As a matter of fact, had it not been for a high rate of accumulation, and the growth of the forces of production at a sustained rate, had it not been for a continuing advancement of the economy, the recently announced measures to increase the working people's pay, state social security pensions for length of service and old age, the pensions for incapacitation and war invalids' pensions would have been impossible to take.

These are as many arguments for a continuation of a substantial accumulation policy that proved out realistic, scientific and highly humanistic. Which is what Romania's decision-making bodies have chosen to do.

Ceausescu Pays Working Visit to Constanta County

Tours Farms

AU0907173988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1649 GMT 9 Jul 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Farming Units in Constanta County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 09/07/1988—RCP general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a working visit to farming units of state and cooperative joint agroindustrial councils in Constanta County on Saturday, 9 July.

RCP general secretary's dialogue with Constanta farmers was an opportunity to analyze the way in which activity is carried on this season for cereal, especially wheat, harvesting and storing as soon as possible and without losses, the on-time execution of the other crops tending operations of great importance for the population's supply with foodstuffs, for the achievement of the plant and animal outputs set for this year and the fulfilment of the targets and tasks of the new agrarian revolution.

A survey was made of important aspects regarding the implementation of the programme for physical planning and, in this respect, the judicious organization of joint agroindustrial councils, their steady growth, the creation of powerful agroindustrial centres which should concentrate state and cooperative farming and industrial units, units of the small industry, a modern schooling, health-care and services network, apt to provide ever better working and living conditions to all residents.

This working visit started at the commune of Cobadin which, after the Ninth RCP Congress, developed just like all the country's localities, seeing deep-going changes on the plane of material and spiritual life. Today Cobadin is a locality which tellingly illustrates the RCP and Romanian state's policy of harmonious development and modernization of all the homeland's towns and villages.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was informed through significant data and figures about the development of agriculture in Constanta County, the achievements scored this year by the working people in the state and cooperative joint agroindustrial council, in the state farming enterprise and the producer cooperative farm of Cobadin whose yields have grown with every passing year. It was stressed that, owing to the substantial support the working people in this large agricultural basin of the country were granted by the RCP and the state, in the last few years the share of Constanta County in the country's cereal production increased considerably as the average annual farm output growth rate was of 5-6 per cent. Almost 80 per cent of the arable area is irrigated. Animal output also grew accordingly since Constanta County has a fine experience especially as regards sheep rearing. Emphasis was placed on the improvement of breeds and livestock and the modernization of animal-breeding farms. The technical and material base of agriculture also developed. The number of farm machinery and equipment in state and cooperative units doubled.

The working dialogue also evinced concern for the county's locality planning and the organization of territorial-administrative units, of joint councils and economic, social and cultural units in communes.

The first secretary of the RCP County Committee, Mihai Marina, showed on a map the stage of that action, and the solutions adopted with regard to an ever more rational organization of the joint councils, taking into account the profile of the activity, the communication ways and the prospects for the socioeconomic development of localities. In that framework, analysis was made on a dummy of the solutions related to the development of Cobadin with a view to turning it into a modern agroindustrial centre. President Nicolae Ceausescu made several recommendations for a rational siting of the agroindustrial units so as to increase the economic power of the locality, and underscored the importance which should be attached to the building of learning, cultural and health units, the ensurance of an ever broader network of services to the population so as to meet the demands for a civilized living. Along this line, at Cobadin just like in all the agroindustrial centres, the physical planning design shows special concern for a proper location and building of the school, kindergarten, creche, the "Song to Romania" culture and creation centre, the hospital, the public bath, the mill and the bakery. The best places were examined for the new economic and social units of the commune.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu visited the plots under wheat, sun flower, maize and flax belonging to the state farming enterprise and the producer cooperative farm of Cobadin, which are well grown and herald rich crops this year.

The party general secretary's working dialogue with experts and farmers in Constanta County continued at the Topraisar Producer Cooperative farm, a well-known unit for its big yields with various crops.

At the end of the visit President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that wheat, maize, sugar-beet and soybean crops were good, emphasizing that there were conditions for the Topraisar Producer Cooperative farm to win, owing to its results, the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution".

Sees Port, Shipbuilding Works

AU1207193688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 12 Jul 88

["Working Visit Paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Enterprises in Constanta Municipality"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 12/7/1988—Tuesday, 12 July, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu, paid a working visit to large economic units in Constanta Municipality.

Just as all the areas of the country, in the years of the socialist construction and particularly in the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress (1965), Constanta County has undergone renewing changes in all the domains of the economic and social life. The county's industry, represented by peak units of the national economy, is currently characterized by high dynamics and efficiency. An important place is held by the marine transport and the shipbuilding industry, sectors which have grown at unprecedented rates: Over the interval Romania's merchant fleet has grown 27 times, switching at the same time from the construction of small-tonnage vessels to huge 165,000 dwt ore carriers.

The working dialogue conducted by the party general secretary, the president of the Republic, with workers and specialists in the area of port activities, shipbuilding and marine transports, occasioned a look into the implementation of the provisions in the plan for the current year and the entire five-year interval, in the plans for the development of shipbuilding and enhancing the capacity of ports and of the Romanian marine transport in keeping with the resolutions of the 13th congress and the national conference of the Party.

The visit started in the area of Constanta-Sud Port, built to meet the current and future needs of the national economy, of Romania's developing commercial exchanges.

The analysis made on the occasion pointed out the Port of Constanta, Europe's first marine port linked to the Danube and one of the largest in Europe, to stand today as a telling image of the dynamic Romanian national economy. It ushers in and out most of the Romanian import-export traffic, Constanta having direct links with over 1,200 ports in 150 countries in all the continents. The new port is soon to become one of the largest in the world, its piers receiving ships of most varied capacities and purposes. The party general secretary was informed of the progress of the port-construction operations, most of them currently in the final stage. The fact was pointed out that the dam-protected part of the new port covers an area three times larger than that of the old port of Constanta. Special attention was paid to the operations at the ferryboat terminal.

The Port of Constanta Sud stands where the waters of the Danube-Black Sea Canal reach the sea. In the same area construction operations have ended on the first capacities of the free port which, already at this stage, offers important goods-handling facilities. At the same time a modern berth has been commissioned for 165,000 dwt ore carriers, whose load may be operatively transfered into barges so that it may reach its destination the soonest, via the Danube-Black Sea Canal. An analysis was made of aspects related to the stage currently attained in the development of the port and to enhancing labour efficiency in point of handling goods by resorting to modern methods to a greater extent.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu visited "Mangalia," the first ferryboat of the kind built in Romania, apt to take in 108 railway cars or the equivalent of 98 road trains, 15-metre long each, on just one voyage.

Next to be visited was the shipbuilding enterprise, one of Romania's strong industrial units.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was told how the collectivity worked to fulfill its technologies and production modernization tasks under the national shipbuilding programme for these five years.

One 165,000 dwt ore carrier is ready for launching, as a second one is being built. Work is in progress to assimilate a 100,000 dwt ore carrier, build three more tankers of 85,000 dwt and get the no. 2 ferryboat ready for sea tests.

The shipyard's docks were seen round where various ships were under construction—tankers, ferryboats, river barges—or being repaired.

President Nicolae Ceausescu attended the launching of the largest ship ever made in Romania—the "Comanesti" ore carrier of 165,000 dwt whose materials, steering and navigation equipment were supplied by many of Romania's industrial centres, and which incorporates a considerable amount of technical intelligence, competence and daringness, in perfect agreement with the potential of Romania's harmoniously and many-sidedly developed economy.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu's meeting with the Council of Working People of the Constanta shipbuilding enterprise ended the visit. The chairman, first deputy chairman and other members of the Council of Working People, as well as several guests were among the speakers.

Addressing the meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu said that what he had seen had made a good impression on him. He had words of appreciation for the first Romanian-made ferryboat and the "Comanesti" 165,000 dwt ship, both of which show that Romania has facilities and people who can make high-performance products.

Appreciating the progress in shipbuilding, the party general secretary spoke about the important tasks that lie ahead of the workers of that major Romanian industry. He stressed that attention should further concentrate on improving work in that field in consideration of the existing good facilities, the experience, and the level of training of the personnel. Emphasis was placed on the execution norms that should be improved and referred to international standards, shortening shipbuilding time and a ship's dockyard time. He urged a reconsideration of the shipbuilding programme and new measures to be added to increase and diversify ship production, as well as a significant contribution to be made by specialty institutes and higher learning staff.

President Nicolae Ceausescu said that utmost attention should be paid to exports, to a diversification of the contribution of this sector to Romania's foreign trade and international economic cooperation activities.

The party general secretary urged a most efficient intensive utilization of sea-going and river ships, the use of port facilities at capacity, shorter times at anchor, higher mileage of merchant ships and an overall improvement of work in this area starting this year.

Agrokomerc Trial Resumes in Bihac

LD2706172388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Bihac, June 27 (TANJUG)—The trial of participants in Yugoslavia's biggest postwar affair in which Velika Kladusa's Agrokomerc agroindustrial combine had issued uncovered promissory notes to the value of some 900 million dollars, was resumed today at the Bihac Court of Law by hearing the third defendant Alija Alesevic, ex-director of the Agrokomerc internal bank.

Alesevic rejected the allegations in the indictment for which he said was "incomprehensible and unacceptable" with incriminations which are "not correct and not technical." He also claimed that as the manager of the Agrokomerc's own bank he had never worked on the issuing of promissory notes.

The trial was disrupted some ten days ago because of poor health of the second defendant Hakija Pozderac, 70, brother of Hamdija, former vice-president of Yugoslavia who has died recently.

The court today rejected the repeated appeal of the defence for Hakija Pozderac to defend himself while on bail.

The defence attorney of the first defendant Fikret Abdic, ex-director of the Agrokomerc, today requested that the trial be suspended pending a decision on his recent demand submitted to the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He demanded that the republic's public prosecutor should be taken off the case. The defence attorney of Fikret Abdic submitted this demand following a statement by the republic's public prosecutor given to the Sarajevo newspaper OSLOBODJENJE, because he held that with this statement the prosecutor had prejudiced the sentence and thus had exerted pressure on the court and the defence.

Agrokomerc Workers Ready To Travel to Belgrade

LD1407125488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Velika Kladusa, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—About 5,000 Agrokomerc workers today left work in preparation for a journey to Belgrade to the SFRY Assembly, by, as they say, all transport means available.

At a protest meeting workers were addressed by Alaga Miljkovic, acting chairman of the Agrokomerc management board, who spoke about the present situation in the collective and the prospects for resolving mounting problems. A number of workers also spoke who remained adamant about their decision to go to Belgrade.

Debt Rescheduled With Paris Club

LD1307142388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Paris, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Yugoslav Government and of 15 Western countries and Kuwait, members of the Paris Club, today formally signed a coordinated document" providing for the basic principles of reprogramming $946 million of the principal and interest on the Yugosav debts maturing in the period from 1 April to 9 June next year. According to Federal Finance Secretary Svetozar Rikanovic, this has completed a major task of the general reprogramming of about $11 billion of the Yugoslav foreign debt.

World Bank Approves $120 Million Loan

AU1207092088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] Washington, 1 Jul (IUN)—The Executive Committee of the World Bank's directors yesterday approved a $120 million loan to Yugoslavia. This loan of the World Bank will be used to strengthen the Yugoslav export industry through a project that will speed up the inflow of foreign exchange in the country.

The realization of this project, it is thought, will speed up the real increase in Yugoslavia's foreign exchange earning, and will strengthen bank's position, and will improve their efficiency in lending funds and financial discipline in the Yugoslav economy.

The total of $119.2 million will be lent through Yugobanka and the Associated Banks of Ljubljana and Belgrade.

The loan is for 15 years and no repayment is envisaged in the first 5 years. The rate of interest is flexible and at present stands at 7.72 percent. The loan also bears an annual charge of 0.75 percent of the country's net balance.

IMF Gives Loan to Yugoslavia

AU1207102788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The IMF Approves $400 Million for Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Washington, 9 July—The IMF has announced that it has approved a loan to Yugoslavia of $400 million to help implement its economic stabilization program. The loan should be paid off in 12 months in five equal installments.

It is expected that private Western banks will soon approve a $300 million loan for Yugoslavia.

FEC Adopts Draft Adjustment to Budget

AU1107152688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Jul 88 p 8

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session held today, the FEC adopted the draft adjustment of the federal budget for this year. According to this draft, the budget's total expenditure for this year will amount to 7,084.3 billion dinars and not 5,659.9 billion dinars as originally thought.

The increase is mainly because of the inflation-induced increase in the federation's legal and other obligations to secure the necessary funds for the regular financing of the Yugoslav People's Army and the development of insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo. A considerable part of the increase in the budget expenditure will go toward fulfilling the obligations to pension and disability insurance and disability protection.

The increase in the budget's expenditure does not demand an increase in the rate of turnover tax or import duties.

Economic Weekly Influences Enterprises

LD2806084288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0334 GMT 28 Jun 88

[By Borislav Korkodelovic]

[Text] Belgrade, June 28 (TANJUG)—A paper which never reached the news-stands has considerably influenced the attempts of Yugoslav enterprises to break away from the economy of agreement and to adopt the principles of a market economy.

Over the past 35 years, Yugoslav firms have been able to obtain the Zagreb weekly PRIVREDINI VJESNIK solely by subscription.

Initially only dedicated economists studied the paper's tables, economic indicators and figures.

After 1987, when this organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia became a genuine economic paper on the model of the well-known U.S. BUSINESS WEEK or the Italian IL SOLE 24 ORE, general managers of different enterprises, journalists following economic trends and even ordinary citizens showed increasing interest for PRIVREDNI VJESNIK.

At present 9,500 copies of the weekly's 10,000 circulation are sent to subscribers.

The increasing interest in Yugoslavia for the red and yellow colored paper can be explained in several ways.

The first is the PRIVREDNI VJESNIK played a role in the fact that the Yugoslavs began to reflect more and more on the laws of the economy, after being forced for years to keep within a greatly unrealistic economic model in the framework of which enterprises engaged much more in reaching agreements than in mutual competition, a practice well beyond the market.

Another reason is that through the work of prominent Yugoslav economists—Aleksandar Bajt, Branko Horvat or Adolf Dragicevic—the Yugoslavs became increasingly aware of the importance of the third technologic revolution, a subject greatly elaborated by PRIVREDNI VJESNIK.

The weekly even initiated a special library titled "Economy and Technology" on the subject of scientific and technical visinaryness [as received], and the first book "Informatics of Technology and Its Development" by Croatian science and technology minister, young economics Professor Velimir Srica, was sold out during subscription.

"We strongly oppose equality and poverty, and we urge the settlement of conflicts which are unavoidable even in socialism," said the paper's manager and years-long editor-in-chief Ante Gavranovic, one of the most well-known Yugoslav journalists-specialists in the field of economy.

The current editor-in-chief of PRIVREDNI VJESNIK, Franjo Zilic, said that 1978 was the crucial year in the paper's editorial policy because "speculations about what could happen" were introduced instead of the monitoring of economic trends.

In the same year the "business expectations" poll was created, and during 1988 some 70 Yugoslav businessmen and well-known managers of enterprises gave often very bold assessments on what will happen to the country in 1989.

The staff of PRIVREDNI VJESNIK also take pride in the "economic barometer" which introduced forecasts as a strategic editorial concept. It enables the revealing of economic trends one month or even 45 days ahead of official statistics or reports by the well-known economic institute, the so-called "Bait's Institute," at the School of Law of the University of Ljubljana.

If, in the near future, the annual inflation in Yugoslavia begins to decrease more visibly from the May figure of 149 percent, the barometer of PRIVREDNI VJESNIK will be the first to record this.

Government Submits Economic Trends Report

LD1307083788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 12—Yugoslavia increased export this year, employment rate is going up and agricultural production and tourist trade prospects are favourable, assesses the Federal Government report submitted to the Federal Assembly today.

In the first six months, exports were increased by 16.1 per cent, 20 per cent of which to the convertible currency market, compared to the same period last year. Total import is 0.2 per cent less than last year and the convertible currency market trade surplus is (figure indistinct] million dollars.

Prime Minister Branko Mikulic's government assessed that the general economic trends in the country are not favourable because industrial production has fallen down 1.7 per cent by the end of May which, accompanied by the increasing inflation, means stagnation.

After the government's three liberalization measures concerning price, import and foreign exchange market prices went rapidly up. While in the first five months prices were going up by an average 5.2 per cent per month, in June, after the intervention measures, they went 21.1 per cent up.

Inflation in business activity caused wage to go up by 149.6 per cent but, in real terms, they are still by 3.3 per cent down on last year. In the first three months the economy's overal material situation has aggravated.

Mikulic on Economic Policy Effects

LD0807132388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0640 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—In some areas we are already feeling the efforts of the May measures. The tendency of a decline of industrial production, spread over a period of several months, was arrested in June. On the basis of this we cannot say whether or not the turn-about has already occurred. However, it is encouraging that this tendency, which lasted for several months, has been stopped. According to statements given by associated labor organizations which were surveyed, it is expected that industrial production could revive in the second half of the year.

This was stated last night in a Radio Sarajevo broadcast by FEC President Branko Mikulic.

I hope investment activity in Yugoslavia will pick up in the second half of the year, for two major reasons: The first is that we have some remaining funds following the rescheduling of our foreign debts, which could be channelled into investment, and, second, we have set aside resources to start constructing the Brotherhood-Unity Highway. Besides, exports this year have been doing quite well.

Up to 30 June this year, exports were 16 percent up; just over 20 percent up into the convertible currency area, and 27 percent up to the developed countries in the West, FEC President Branko Mikulic said. In tourism, too, specific positive results were attained during the 5-month period, although these 5 months are not characteristic. On the whole, foreign currency inflow went up by 54 percent, and the convertible foreign currency inflow by 59 percent. In addition, the foreign currency market is functioning quite well. As is known, this year we expect a record wheat crop. These are some effects of these measures which we can already balance.

We will ask a question against our relations with the IMF—about which questions have been asked—if we do not carry out the objectives concerning three nominal restrictions, the FEC president said. This means restrictions on the growth of general and joint expenditure, that is, public expenditure, credit-monetary aggregates, and personal income. Of course, Branko Mikulic said, if we do not carry out the measures we have established, especially if we do not attain the inflation target rate, the most serious consequences will be for us, ourselves, in the country, and for this reason it is exceptionally important that we fight to attain this inflation target rate.

I am fully convinced that we will extricate ourselves from the economic crisis. However, one should not harbor any illusions that we will do this only by adopting federal regulations, or anybody else's regulations, for that matter, Branko Mikulic said. The action to extricate ourselves from the economic crisis requires broad social action, planned work by everyone, ranging from the basic organizations of associated labor up to organs at the federal level. Everyone has his bit to do, and everyone has to do it. If we do that we shall without a doubt extricate ourselves from the economic crisis, the FEC president stressed.

Regarding the easing of the burden on the economy, I would say that the federation places a burden on the economy with custom duties and custom payments. I believe that in this area something can be done to ease the burden on the economy, especially to reduce some payments which would make it possible for it to boost production and to attain better export results, including income motivation for higher production, especially for higher exports. We at the federal level could do something here. However, as regards everything else, and this means contributions and taxation on income, and personal income, the federation has no powers at all in this respect. This side of the coin has to be discussed in the republics, provinces, communes and towns, and in self-management interest communities.

Replying to a question on the negative consequences of the May measures—work stoppages, and the appearance of workers in the Yugoslav Assembly—Branko Mikulic said that it will not be a good thing if on account of price increases and strikes we were to be seized by panic and if we were to inflate things so as to give encouragement to hesitation in implementing the agreed measures. This could only encourage the manifestation of demands for such adjustments and measures which to all intents and purposes would be tantamount to abandoning them. As far as the strikes and the arrival of the strikers in front of the Yugoslav Assembly building are concerned, I would say that the problems cannot be resolved in this way. The problems of individual collectives piled up over the years cannot be resolved on the steps of the SFRY Assembly building or in the street. They must be resolved in the collectives and the municipalities. The workers from Borovo were there recently, Mikulic said, and yet this is a collective employing over 20,000 workers, which is in debt to the tune of 136 billion dinars. It has 100 billion dinars tied up in stocks and has losses amounting to 24 billion dinars, which when added up gives a total of 260 billion dinars. These problems cannot be resolved by appearing in front of the SFRY Assembly building. They are the consequence of a production and work organization concept and this collective's attitude to these issues.

The FEC president said that last year a Borovo delegation came to see him. I told them then that they obviously had to adopt serious restructuring programs. If the domestic and world market was unwilling to accept their products then the production concept had to be altered and they had to manufacture what was acceptable to the market. There was no one else who could and should secure resources for them to finance commodity stocks which the market was not going to accept. A clean break has to be made with this sort of logic. We have to acquire a market mentality. Therefore, Branko Mikulic stressed, such problems have to be resolved in the collectives concerned and in the communes, and not by asking the workers to appear in front of the Yugoslav Assembly building or asking to talk with those who have never been asked about the development concept of an individual collective or about its business policy.

The reform of our economic system, such as we have conveived, cannot be carried out without Constitutional changes, because Constitutional restrictions are such as to render its implementation impossible. This is why we insist on the rapid implementation of the Constitutional amendments which will enable us to carry out a reform of the economic system. However, I would like to add that we in the FEC commission are in favor of a reform of the economic system. We are preparing a proposed reform of the economic system on the assumption that the proposed Constitutional amendments will be adopted in the form they have been submitted or in an even better variant. Accordingly, we are not delaying the preparations, Branko Mikulic said, answering a question by a listener in Osijek.

We established protected wheat prices following an in-depth review of all the consequences, and we bore in mind some additional facts which have apparently been forgotten. First, wheat prices are formed freely. Accordingly, by fixing the protected wheat price we did not lay down its market price. That price can be at a higher level. However, if it falls below the market price then we guarantee this price level for all agreed production. Second, we bore in mind the fact that in addition to providing protected prices, we provide incentives for agriculture in other ways too, such as allowing differentiated and advantageous rates of interest, providing subsidies for milk production, cattle breeding, compensation for the production of all three kinds of oil—soya, sunflower, and rape—850 flour-type, and pasteurized milk. When all this is added up you get the sum of 1.02 trillion dinars. We know that the discussion about protected prices is also wide-ranging for a different reason. What happens is that this level of protected prices is decisive for establishing our credit-monetary policy, and that if the level of protected prices is high that will make our credit-monetary policy opt for higher resources to be channelled into agriculture. This means that other sectors of the economy should get commensurately fewer resources. In saying that I am not claiming that this price has been well worked out. However, we took all this into consideration and I believe that the price is not deflating.

One listener in Ljubljana asked whether in the eventuality of the target rate of inflation being overshot, will we return to the old hot-cold recipe—that is to say freeze the prices—or will the FEC prepare some other and more efficient mechanism. Replying to this question Branko Mikulic said:

As far as the FEC is concerned we have no hesitation in saying that this line has to be persevered with. We shall all bear the consequences of the target rate of inflation being exceeded. If we do not succeed there will be neither a blowing hot and cold situation nor do we prepare new measures to change the existing state of affairs. We are not thinking of anything like that at all. Accordingly, we must continue along this road and we must get on with implementing this policy. We anticipate that this year we will carry out a further 10-percent price liberalization and the same with regard to imports. Next year we must carry on along this road.

As is known, on the proposal of the commission for the reform of the economic system, the FEC adopted the bases of departure. Even before that, when presented as working material, they received in principle the support of the LCY conference. In July the guidelines for formulating the draft law will be approved. After that, and as early as August, experts and the best lawyers from throughout the country will come together in appropriate federal organs and, together with them, we will work on formulating the drafts of individual systemic laws. This means that there will be no respite for us this year, Brank Mikulic said.

On the basis of the results of the commission's work, Branko Mikulic continued, the FEC has submitted additional proposals to the Constitutional Commission to change the SFRY Constitution. We are proceeding from the assumption that both what we have proposed and the Constitutional amendments in their totality will be approved. If we were to single out one, two, or even five Constitutonal amendments which would enable us to resolve only three or four issues in the area of economic reform, then this reform would come to nothing. This means that this year we have to prepare and adopt a reform of the economic system as a whole so that it can come into force on 1 January 1989. Accordingly, the adoption of Constitutional amendments is the condition for implementing this reform. As far as these measures which we have adopted are concerned I would say that they do not represent a minor segment of all the changes in our economic system which have to be carried out, but its first and very significant stage. The alternative is statism and administrative meddling in our economic life and a further exacerbation of the crisis and, I am afraid, the end of self-management and democracy. The awareness about it, in my view, is not adequate at the moment.

Will there be any changes in the law on restricting personal income in organizations, which this year are attaining above average results and last year had a low starting base? This question was put by a group of listeners from Mostar.

We are discussing this, the FEC president said, and we shall have to reflect carefully on that in view of the commitments which we have taken on by virtue of our agreement with the IMF.

Replying to a question on improving the living standard of workers and their families who earn 250,000 dinars, the FEC president said that we must not give up the reform, even when faced by social upheavals. If we were to give up the reform now—I will be frank—I don't see what our future would be. We would condemn ourselves to being an economic province in Europe on the threshold of the next century. We have to pay the price for some of our past mistakes and for the illusory life of plenty during the past decade, based on foreign debts.

Our restrictions on restructuring or on greater demands in restructuring the Yugoslav economy are considerable. First and foremost they are reflected in a large scale internal and foreign debt, and the restrictions of a doctrinal nature are included among these restrictions. It is true to say that the economic restructuring is a particularly serious question for the economically nondeveloped part of the country. During the past 2 years we undertook some measures to financially consolidate a sector of the economy in Montenegro, Macedonia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. I think that we have to orient ourselves toward pooling resources with partners in the country and abroad toward developing the processing sectors of the economy in this part of the country, toward developing the service activities which are underrated, and toward developing small businesses so as to be able in this way to exercise a more forceful influence on improving the economic structure in that part of Yugoslavia, Branko Mikulic said.

When we ask ourselves the question, where are our sources of accumulation and how and on what can we rely for support, I think that we must orient ourselves primarily to raising the efficiency of economic operations, while labor efficiency in the Yugoslav economy has been constantly falling since 1964. We also have to increasingly involve the resources of the population and channel them into production purposes. We must more fully commit ourselves to foreign accumulation; the best thing to do would be not to pay this accumulation on a credit basis but through joint investment by setting up mixed enterprises and by letting installations. In all forms of these joint investments the working people must be ensured self-management rights, and the same also applies to the economic social sector. As regards hesitation about these issues, I would say that poverty and stagnation are more dangerous than anything else to socialism.

One of the questions put by a Radio Sarajevo listener to FEC President Branko Mikulic referred to social ownership.

We are not going for the concept of weakening social ownership or reducing social property, the FEC president stressed. The fact has to be borne in mind that the share of the social sector in the formation of the Yugoslav social product is over 85 per cent. If we were to reduce this share by 5 or 10 percent, what sort of a danger for socialism would that be? None at all. The social sector remains dominant.

As far as ideological and other forms of hesitation are concerned, I will repeat the witty remark made by a member of the commission for the reform of the economic system: We on the commission are working without any pressure exercised by any ideological priests or ayatollahs. We are preparing the concepts which we believe to be good, and when they have been prepared and proposed then we will see which issues are ideological so that we can discuss them. We are not in favor of placing a question mark against the self-management concept of Yugoslav socialist development. On the contrary, with all the proposals and reforms which we shall carry out we will without doubt strengthen both socialism and self-management in Yugoslavia. However, this does not mean that only one form of ownership is a guarantee of socialism and self-management. This is why we are suggesting that a fair number of changes in the area of ownership relations should be carried out.

Some criticize the FEC, saying it supports a bureaucratic-centralist system. For instance, the single taxation policy is assessed as a concept of the obsolete sociopolitical system in Yugoslavia. To what extent will the FEC be in a position to fulfill its functions after the Constitution has been amended?

Certain changes are proposed regarding the powers concerning FEC responsibility for implementing federal regulations, said Branko Mikulic. This is necessary and I will illustrate by quoting the example of the Agrokomerc infringements of the payments system. When the social accountancy service inspection established this fact, as a federal service it filed a criminal charge with the appropriate office. This office detained the people charged and released them after 2 days. The moment the federal office files its report, all its powers and activities cease.

Now a Constitutional amendment is being proposed which will establish the basis for federal powers in securing the implementation of federal legislation which would be applied when offices do not carry out federal laws and other regulations. Furthermore, extending the federation's powers in the area of socio-economic relations is also being proposed, which implies extending the FEC's responsibility as well. It is my firm conviction that this cannot be defined as centralism because these are the solutions which secure, among other things, the single Yugoslav market and economic conditions on an equal footing.

Branko Mikulic said that even though some regulations will be adopted by federal offices instead of the republican and provincial ones, this does not amount to rule by administration. As for the characterization of the FEC as a supporter of the bureaucratic-centralist concept, this is not tied to Constitutional reform but with past events. We were under constant pressure to liberalize domestic prices and change the functioning of the foreign currency market, but the conditions for that are not yet at hand. We were not able to accept them. We did not like it at all that we had to intervene administratively both on the commodity market and on the foreign currency market, by applying Article 110 of the Foreign Currency Operations Law. However, in order to create conditions for the liberalization of the domestic market we had to reschedule part of our foreign debts. We had to secure financial support by issuing new money in order to secure conditions for the functioning of the foreign currency market without the application of Article 110 of the Foreign Currency Law and in so doing create conditions to allow the foreign market to have a greater impact on our domestic market and to break up the monopoly. Had we not done that or if we had acted differently we would have caused a great deal of money to be syphoned off; revenue on the Yugoslav market would have been syphoned off uneconomically and we would have been facing a number of other consequences which we must consider. We were not interested in either centralism or red tape. We were involved in creating conditions to enable us to move toward the market economy, said FEC President Branko Mikulic in the Radio Sarajevo broadcast.

Loncar Speech to Federal Chamber

LD2906221288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0736 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—"The basic guidelines of our foreign policy last year and in the preceding years are a continuation of the same policy and the same fundamental orientations and convictions which we build with Tito at the helm." This was stated by Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, speaking today at a session of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber about current questions of the implementation of foreign policy.

Loncar said that the question is not being raised as to whether to continue to conduct, appreciating the changes in the world, this or a similar policy—conceived on independence and one's own development which is realized by broad cooperation with others and on the progress of the world, which we will aspire toward through nonalignment—but as to whether we are sufficiently prepared, organized and have a sufficiently profound understanding of things so that we might realize this option, which has stood the test of stormy times, as effectively as possible in the period ahead, in the service of the highest, most vital national interests of the country and finally of all if its citizens. I am convinced that this is the crux of many of our problems and dilemmas, Loncar said.

The federal secretary set out the basic concerns of our foreign policy at this point and during the ensuing period, especially in connection with the economy problems in the country and with the need for further dynamic development in keeping with current international developments.

Loncar recalled that international relations are facing a new historic change. The question of whether the relations between the USSR and the United States and between the blocs which they are leading are abandoning the postwar logic of the well-known alternation between periods of tension and detente is connected with it. The answers are necessary if we, like others, are to build our strategy on realistic assumptions to allow the Nonaligned Movement to identify the real scope and framework for its activity.

Almost like a chain reaction the improved relations between the great powers are reflected in a number of key areas of international life. It is undeniably in the interest of everyone that this positive process should continue and become consolidated in the areas which it has already embraced, in the area of international security and disarmament, regional security, and focal points of crisis, so that it can make a breakthrough into the entire economic sphere.

"These three areas—disarmament and international security, economic relations and development, and democratization of international relations—are linked and dependent on each other. Only progress in all three areas can provide a full value to the progress in each area separately. Therefore, the incipient steps in the area of disarmament and detente will acquire their proper role and make possible a radical turnabout in international relations if the process of resolving deep-seated problems of economic relations and development in the world is carried out with the same resolve and consistency, and ultimately also with the same results. We attach the greatest possible significance to that, and both in the Nonaligned Movement and elsewhere we will strive to bring about this approach. We cannot be observers who hail the positive steps of others but should be active factors who bring influence to bear in the direction of a comprehensive and really positive change in the world."

New detente has to lead to the implementation of democratic principles in international relations. Of course, only if detente itself is carried out by democratic means parallel with the use of all available multilateral mechanisms. With their dialogue and detente the great powers are providing a key impusle to the establishment of conditions for democratization in the world, but they themselves cannot see these processes through. Their bilateralism is a reality of the time, but multilateralism is its requirement. Multilateralism is the irreplaceable instrument of the necessary democratization of international relations and of the development of the world in which the stable economic, social and democratic development of each country will have a direct two-way causal-consequence link between democratic development and prosperity of the entire international community.

Speaking of the democratization of international relations, Loncar noted that it is difficult to identify the freedom of the individual in a country which does not enjoy full independence, or one which, in any sense whatever, is in a subordinate position. "Freedom and human rights are maybe one of the greatest achievements of civilization, the achievements which today can no longer be neglected, and ignored even less so. The world has to find an answer to the challenge of how to overcome racism, apartheid, poverty, dismal starvation, and deprivation, to allow men to enjoy these freedoms, because we live at a time when the international community is facing more than ever before the knowledge that it shares not only the same destiny but the responsibility for it as well, and that independence, freedom, and democracy are not the universal right of all the nations, of all the people, and the prerequisite of all further progress. We in Yugoslavia have the full moral right to say this loudly, and it is also our commitment that we should work for it comprehensively and wholeheartedly."

Budimir Loncar said that the current processes in the world require the Nonaligned Movement to reexamine constantly the method of its activity and constantly to adapt itself creatively. In the context of new processes the Nonaligned Movement obviously is faced by the quest for new ways and means of consolidating its recognized international role which has in fact asserted itself thanks to its independence, authenticity, and consistent extra-bloc orientation. Today, more than ever before, the activity of the movement must become permeated with a feeling for innovation, flexibility, and imagination. The Nonaligned Movement should and must be inspired by significant breakthroughs in achievements in the past, not in order to abandon itself to self-satisfaction and inertia but, on the contrary, to keep up with its historic mission in the struggle for a world in which peace, security, and development must be the general good and attainment of everyone.

During the upcoming ministerial conference in Cyprus we will be stressing the need for precisely this kind of action-channeled commitment of the movement, the commitment to undertake specific steps and initiatives which will make possible both the further opening and influence of the movement toward everything which in the international community is new today as well as the adaption of the instruments and of the methods of its activity to the changed circumstances.

Budimir Loncar then spoke of the priorities of the unified Yugoslav foreign policy, of the relations with our neighbors. With our neighbors, he said, we have attained different but on the whole satisfactory degrees of relations and cooperation. The dynamics of the meetings and of the dialogue with high-ranking and top personalities from all seven neighboring countries is a testimony to the attention which both sides pay to the development of trust, understanding, and cooperation. It is common knowledge that there still are inherited problems just as there are difficulties in resolving them. I would certainly like to single out the question of the status of parts of our nations in individual neighboring countries as being one of these issues, but I would also like to stress that this issue is an integral part of our actions and of our aspirations to goodneighborly relations as a priority of our foreign policy.

The Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries and its results have introduced a new dimension into our relations with four of our neighbors. Balkan politics and cooperation have been shown to be possible and necessary to everyone. This is precisely one of the cases when multilateral activity helps the solution of bilateral questions and when, simultaneously, the identity of interests for the solution of specific problems in our bilateral relations requires these problems to be resolved within a multilateral framework. The Sofia meeting of foreign officials, devoted to the realization of the Belgrade agreement, which has just ended, also demonstrated this point. In this context I should like to point out certain positive shifts in our relations with neighboring Albania and the new situations in which the mutual cooperation interest is asserted, in addition to our economic relations, precisely through the practical results provided by the new contractual relations in the sphere of cross-border trade and of cultural, educational and other kinds of cooperation. We are also seeking the best possible solutions in water resources. I believe that in all these matters we are not at the end but at the beginning of the road.

We have all the reasons, Loncar said, both of political-strategic nature and the practical ones to make a full contribution to the development of inter-Balkan trust and cooperation. However, to do this we must display enough judiciousness and have enough patience. It is certain that we should not impair through an emotional approach—although these emotions can be understood because of the past and the present—what is obviously in the long-term interest of our country as a whole. All our principled approaches, also made by us as a nonaligned country, are obviously confirmed also in the matter of inter-Balkan cooperation and in the Balkans in general where until recently the dramatic nature of historic events and the paradoxical characteristics of the social history of the 20th century were in evidence as hardly anywhere else. It is therefore more than necessary for our policy and conduct in the area of inter-Balkan relations to have a general Yugoslav character in every respect.

The federal secretary stressed also the need for cooperation of all the Mediterranean littoral countries, the kind of cooperation which could make an increasingly big and authentic contribution to Europe and to further surmounting the divisions in it.

When talking about Europe and of the dilemmas and prospects of our European policy I believe that one must proceed from the view that the nature and direction of contemporary social tendencies on the European continent are becoming, on the whole, increasingly important for and increasingly relevant to the international status, economic-technological development and security of Yugoslavia. In addition, Europe is our home. Yugoslavia was an active participant in all the key events which determined the present political and territorial status quo and also the state of spiritual life in Europe.

In the present European atmosphere Yugoslavia, in view of its extra-bloc and nonaligned status, is actively interested in the further development of the process of European cooperation, in overcoming the confrontation in East-West relations and, in so doing, in reducing the political significance and influence of existing barriers.

As a nonaligned and developing country we are working for general European integration which will reduce the differences in the degree of development and also ensure the pluralism of sociopolitical systems and international options, and to approach in this stage every grouping separately, but with the same starting criteria and with the same final objectives.

It is in Yugoslavia's vital interest resolutely to pursue well planned steps which are necessary for our fullest and most functional possible inclusion in the international and European integration processes coupled with the respect for all our authentic features.

Speaking of the problem of debts, Budimir Loncar stressed that the consensus today is that the debt crisis is not only a financial and economic but also a major political question, in fact one of the most serious problems of international community. Many creditor countries and international financial institutions are displaying a greater degree of understanding for the objective position of the debtors and either accept or take initiatives whereby the solution of the debtor crisis will be linked with the solution of the problem of the economic growth of the debtor countries, while for the poorest countries they will facilitate a portion of the debts to be written off, which we welcome.

We are deeply aware of the extent to which the pace of our internal economic stabilization is closely tied up with the problem of the indebtedness of our country. In this respect Yugoslavia, regardless of the specific nature of its position, more or less shares the unenviable destiny of other debtor countries.

Our negotiations with the IMF and with the Paris Club ended with the arrangement which give us [words indistinct] solutions which we had chosen and which we managed to have accepted, after extensive discussions in the country and long negotiations with the creditors, will be least painful—and in this respect I consider them to be the best in the given situation—only provided the economic reform which we have initiated and on whose operation the FEC is working are consistently implemented without compromise.

Only thus will we be able to avoid further stagnation and create the conditions for a revival of economic trends, faster development, and active inclusion in the international division of labor at a higher level.

The fact that the burden has been eased by the restructuring accepted by the 16 governments of the Paris Club, on the basis of their conviction that Yugoslavia will not abandon the proclaimed objectives of irrevocable acceptance of the mechanisms of the market economy, is also binding and encouraging. The way out of the crisis in which Yugoslavia finds itself can be found only thus, on an active development platform which in due course will strengthen our solvency and credibility in international financial quarters, creating realistic development prospects in the future. It follows therefore that the key is in our hands and we must accept this fact.

However, should there by any new dilemmas in this sense we must always recall the fact that no matter how big the moral and political capital on which to a large extent our reputation, credibility, and general status rest, and the interest of others in our being a stable and independent country, and no matter how powerful an ally this capital was to us in the difficult moments during the negotiations with our creditors and with other partners, the capital is not endless and inexhaustible.

The federal secretary referred also to Yugoslavia's relations with the three great powers. The experience left to us by President Tito, his approaches, and the practice which he had established proved to be truly valuable. Within a relatively short period we established significant top-level dialogue with the USSR and the United States, and a high-level dialogue with the PRC. I can say that on none of those occasions did we have any reason to doubt their interest in Yugoslavia's stability and their understanding for our efforts. At the top and other political levels we have had also a number of meetings and talks with the representatives of many other countries which play a significant role in the world, and there were nonaligned, Eastern, and Western countries. Some of such meetings are imminent. Striving to have active relations and all-around cooperation with the USSR and the United States and the PRC in the future too, and with all other factors in the world, we proceed form the same principles upon which we develop our relations with these countries. Thus we present ourselves to the world in the best possible way. Moreover, we present the essence of our ethos, which is that we must always have the same approach to every partner without ideological or other prejudices, and that, with or without difficulties, we are always loyal with equal consistency to everything that constitutes the foundation and guarantee of our independence and which is the support of our confidence and dignity.

Parallel with identifying the changes in the world and our country, there is the need constantly to take stock of and adapt the work of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. This is a parallel process; it has been going on for quite soem time now, but in recent years and even so more recently it has been intensifying.

We are trying to develop a more modern way of thinking and acting, to allow our cadres to enter public discussions without any taboo topics, and to establish the closest possible creative cooperation with the institutes and scholarly centers throughout the country.

We are particularly striving, in the spirit of the Constitution, to remain a Yugoslav institution equally sensitive to the interests, contributions, and needs of all our republics and provinces and of all our citizens. In pursuing a united, jointly agreed-on and Yugoslav foreign policy, the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs is trying to ensure that this process of crystalization and policy-making is enveloped in a way which is envisaged by our system and which presupposes that the specific interests requiring or expecting the involvement of Yugoslav foreign policy should obtain the democratic verification of everyone.

In conclusion Budimir Loncar expressed the conviction that the present state of international relations ensures greater security for us. At the same time it is not, as might have been the case in the earlier periods of our postwar history, a limiting factor on a more efficient quest for new, more flexible, more rapid and bolder paths, especially the paths of the way out of the crisis based on a single approach built on respect for the real interests of all our nations and nationalities, and in the interest of Yugoslavia as a whole and as a unified subject of international relations.

LCY Leadership Views Position, Responsibilities

AU1307160588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Jul 88 p 1

[Ivan Torov commentary: "The Leaderships Remain Beholden"]

[Text] "My resignation is my own sanctioning of the task which has not been carried out and which I undertook with you at the 13th congress..."

Dr Radovan Radonjic is a man who on several occasions at sessions of the LCY Central Committee knew how to agitate but also to provoke frowns on the faces of those who were targets of criticism, with his emotive but most often very exact comments. This time he can go no further. His withdrawal from the party leadership and from his post as head of the "ideological commission" deserves special attention, not so much as the brave self-critical step of one man but as a move which can, to a great extent, contribute to finding the answer to the basic question—can the Central Committee, after the harsh criticism levelled at it at the LCY conference, more successfully realize its political and statutory function?

It is all the more appropriate to ask such a question as in the discussion at the last LCY Central Committee session quite a lot of resignation and pessimism, as well as disappointment, was expressed in some speeches because of what is being done and what has been done in the last few months. Several speakers at the plenum pointed out in extremely dramatic voices the untenability of the party leadership's mode of work.

"If we continue to work in this way," said Joze Slokar, "it will happen that the workers will get rid of us all, from Triglav to Vardar." Officials do not participate in strikes and other hassles in life—they are in their offices and workers will, according to Slokar, "break up and throw out" such leaders.

"The LC should be very concerned," warned Josip Vrhovec, "when several thousand workers stand in front of the LCY Central Committee building and shout 'thieves, thieves, out.'" I do not think that that is true, said Vrhovec, but this increasingly seems to be the view of the workers class and that is something that must be worrying.

Ante Markovic was even more specific. He warned that there will be no reform changes in society without a change in the leadership team. We are badly deceiving ourselves, said Markovic, if we think that this can be implemented by the same people.

As long as things stay as they are, the crisis in society will increasingly acquire characteristics which distance us from the solution which we wish for and lead us toward increasingly prominent and difficult and therefore dangerous conflicts and quarrels. Under such circumstances there will no longer only be the impression that "everyone is against everyone else." The proof in this sense is what one of the older LC members warned us about at the plenum: There is virtually no republic or province where one or several "negative feelings" have not been "produced."

In such a situation we will have the daily occurrence that everyone fires at everyone else "at full force;" new conflicts will be started and old ones will be renewed (far more fiercely this time); everyone will say that they "are the only ones in line with the stances of the LCY congress or conference" or they are "the only real democrats," and all those illusions which we talked about at this plenum will remain in circulation: That reforms cannot be carried out only by themselves; that economic reform is a magic wand; that historical processes can change over night and only through meetings, some spectacular and unusual situations and measures, and with political will based on the relationship of forces of the moment or even with a compromise which does not ask the price.

An awareness emerges from what was said at the LCY Central Committee whose exactness is not difficult to prove. If the party superiors do not "adapt themselves" according to the criticism, which the LCY conference levelled at it, and if it is not free to carry out effectively their tasks from the operative program that was adopted, Yugoslav political life will be blocked and paralyzed to such an extent that only those who do not want to or those who see the situation solely from their own perceptions, can believe or expect that everything that must be done will actually be done by the end of the year. This is especially the case if, as it has been warned, the real danger exists that the LC leadership, albeit at the middle and lower levels, will answer the new challenges of the reform with old methods and by taking upon itself tasks and work which are the responsibility of others and especially of the state. In this sense, even the proposed text of the operative program for the implementation of the LCY conference stances was subjected to much sharp criticism, as yet another confirmation of the party's inability to adapt to the challenges of the times, the social situation, and the reforms.

If the 13th congress and its stances have been virtually forgotten, many Central Committee members were greatly surprised, as they said, that even the good decisions of the recent LCY conference are being pushed very quickly into the background under the pressure of "ideological wars." If the LCY Central Committee does not provide the necessary turn-around through its operative program, then this will be an expression of the inability of the party chiefs to carry out and concretize the incipient struggle. We should not deceive ourselves: We will be pulled in this direction by both the inertia of the old and the new which, on behalf of the conviction that our problems can only be solved through an extraordinary congress and after radical changes, allows that to be done which can and must be done today. Of course, the confusion over what is what is forgotten: That in the realization of the agreed reform, if it is carried out as it should be, all those who resist it will fail and that the reform of the LCY itself should not be reduced to a new ritualistic political act, because the necessary transformation of the party can make a historical point only as a way of clearing space for the realization of reform and the democratization of society, and not as the means for eliminating political opponents.

We have been faced both at the LCY conference and at this Central Committee plenum—which can be considered a new political occurrence in our country—with the speeches of some members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which have been dominated by dissatisfaction with their own work and the work of this collective organ. This was first done by Dr Vasil Tupurkovski and Marko Orlandic at the conference and then they were joined by Franc Setinc at the LCY Central Committee who offered to resign not because he had "tired of the work" but because, as he said, he had "tired of the method of work." The assessments that they gave, as well as Radisa Gacic's basic observation in his explanation of the report on the Presidium's work in the last year, that "we have done a lot and achieved little" can and must be encouraging, although they are above all an illustration of the "capability" of the party leadership and the situation and attitudes in it.

(Only) the critical words of the three members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the reason for Radovan Radonjic's resignation must be perceived as a binding and welcome opportunity to face the truth and everything that blocks the party leaderships from within. If this work is only half done, the state of inability, apathy, and ideological confusion will increasingly overrun our political space.

Immediately after the well-known 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, one of the optimistic officials hurried to say that "no subsequent Central Committee session will be like the ones before." After the 15th session of the party leadership, we see that such a conclusion came too early. The fact is that many questions were asked at this plenum and two resignations "were notched up" (for different reasons) but it is true that virtually all the questions which have been asked for years should only now be answered thoroughly. The LCY Central Committee has until now remained beholden in this to the membership and the democratization of society and the reform changes.

SAWPY Committee Summarizes Constitutional Debate

LD0207142888 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1126 GMT 1 Jul 88

["Yugoslavia: Committee Sums Up Public Debate on Constitutional Changes" TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavs have supported the proposed amendments to the country's Constitution, but the serious social crisis calls for even deeper changes and the economic and political system, Marjan Kotar, president of the Coordinating Committee of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, which monitors public debate on constitutional changes, said today. [sentence as received]

Kotar told a session of the leadership of the largest Yugoslav sociopolitical organization, which organized the public debate on the country's Constitution, that nearly one-fifth of the country's 23 million citizens made thousands proposals and suggestions. Kotar said this opened new ways of democratization of the country's political life.

He pointed out that most individual suggestions were such that they considerably improved the proposed constitutional changes, initiated by the Presidency of Yugoslavia late in 1986. However, unacceptable proposals were also made in the public debate, offering anti-selfmanagement, centralist or nationalist-separatist alternatives, such as the abolition of social ownership or introduction of a multi-party system, said Kotar.

Promoted by the country's economic difficulties, the participants in the debate focused on the solutions in the domain of socio-economic relations, Kotar said. It is a general demand that Yugoslavia make a consistent commitment to market economy and abandon the concept of an economy based on broad social compacts and administrative measures, he said.

The public debate came out in favour of different forms of ownership, while strengthening social ownership as the dominant form, said Kotar, adding that all possibilities of investment of foreign capital and private funds of Yugoslav citizens in socially-owned or private firms should be reviewed without prejudice.

A lesser degree of agreement was achieved in the domain of the socio-political system, although the intentions of most proposed changes were supported along with an assessment that they contribute to the strengthening of selfmanagement and democracy, said Kotar.

He noted that calls were made in the debate demanding that the principle of parliamentary government be strengthened and the legitimate authority of the assembles as supreme organs of selfmanagement and the rule of the working class be restored. Express demands were also made for direct and secret elections and multiple candidacies, he said.

Kotar said it was unanimously assessed that the constitutional changes should create conditions for workers and their enterprises to play a greater role, particularly in the Federal Assembly. However, no agreement was reached on how this should be done—by introducing a chamber of associated labour in the Federal Assembly, or by consistently implementing the present solution requiring that more than half of the delegates to the Federal Assembly be from enterprises.

Calls were also made that the constitutional changes enable Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic, to be equal with the other five republics and to function efficiently, at the same time respecting its provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo as autonomous and constituent elements of the federation, he said.

No agreement was reached on the questions in the jurisdiction of the republics and provinces which the proposed solutions require to be regulated in a unified manner at federal level, said Kotar. These questions relate to the operation of large systems, the integral Yugoslav market, taxation system, financing of the Yugoslav People's Army and conflicts between some federal and republican laws.

The socialist alliance should not put these open questions to the vote, but resolve them through a consensus of all the republics and provinces, noted Kotar. The draft constitutional amendments too should be adopted by consensus in the Federal Assembly by November 29 this year.

Kotar upheld proposals that work on drawing up a new, modern and, in particular, shorter and more comprehendsible federal constitution should continue after the adoption of the constitutional amendments. The present Constitution, Yugoslavia's third, was adopted in 1974.

Kosovo Polje Demands at LC Conference

AU2906134988 Pristina RILINDJA
in Albanian 26 Jun 88 p 2-9

[Isak Hasani, Gani Bajrami, Tahir Neziri, Mehmet Emerllahu, Xhemajl Mustafa, Mehmet Gjata, Ramush Tahiri report on session of Kosovo LC Conference in Pristina on 24 and 25 June: "Unity and Equality on the Front Against Nationalism"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Arbitrary and One-Sided Opinions [subhead]

Pavle Jovanovic remarked in his speech that, because of irresponsibility, indecisiveness, and a tolerant attitude toward Albanian nationalism and separatism, the enemy has penetrated every pore of social life and has succeeded in carrying out a counterrevolution that is still going on. Even though our very skins are seared by the pain of Albanian nationalism and separatism—he went on—and even though we see its work of destruction before our eyes, and how it pulls down bridges of understanding and impels us toward tragedy, we Communists stand by in silence and merely record the results. There have been many resolutions and standpoints adopted on the Kosovo tragedy. We have taken up a lot of time, held many meetings, and explained a lot of issues. However, it seems that matters still need to be explained and clarified to many people, and there are many who do not wish to see things clearly. How can we explain the fact that several hundred thousand progressive people and Communists cannot expose and settle accounts with an enemy who is poisoning the minds of young people before our very eyes, attacking the Serbian and Montenegrin people and evicting them from their hearths, pulling down their cultural monuments, raping their children, and destroying everything that they have fought for, and for which many sons and daughters of all peoples and nationalities have given their lives. Must we still today tire ourselves out with sheaves of paper, saying what we have said a hundred times before? Can we not see those people who are responsible, who are leading us and themselves up the garden path, until the enemy fulfills his aims? Commenting on cadre policy, Pavle Jovanovic said that some comrades in posts of responsibility have two policies, one for public consumption, and another for the corridors and their inner circle. It is policies of this kind, he added, that have brought us to this pass, and until we grapple with those forces which are deceiving us, the enemy will be successful in his ambitions. We must therefore, he continued, purge our own ranks first of all, and especially the leadership of the Kosovo LC. We in the Pristina party organization have recently experienced an exceptionally serious political situation. However, confidence in the Pristina LC Communal Committee has revived following the arrival of two new leaders, which shows what obstacles were raised by the working methods of the former president and secretary. Jovanovic went on to say that the judgment under which these two persons are debarred from election to posts of political importance won wide support among members, but "amazingly, did not enjoy the support of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, which annulled the essential portion of the assessment in its own communique and thus ruined the most energetic work of the Pristina LC Communal Committee." From this, Jovanovic said, we can see where we should seek those forces who do not want to see the situation stabilized and who still want to lead us by the nose.

Why have we not followed through to the finish the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum, as well as our own conclusions, as we swore to do. Is it the enemy who is to blame for what we have not carried out? Can we wait for him to do it for us? Who is to blame for the failure to follow ideopolitical differentiation through to the end, especially among our own ranks? Who is responsible for the expropriations such as at Gazivoda and Mali Sar, whose purpose was to encourage emigration? Who is responsible for RILINDJA's publication of the interview with Branko Horvat, whose views coincide totally with the platform of the Albanian nationalists and separatists? Was it merely those who were so lightly, very lightly punished for what they did, while highly responsible people remain at the head of this publishing house?

Pavle Jovanovic concluded by asking that three new standpoints that he himself proposed should be adopted alongside those that had already been put forward. The first was that the highest party leadership in Kosovo, whom he viewed as "unable to carry out its functions or to lead the LCY's work in stabilizing the situation," should be held responsible for the situation in Kosovo. He added that certain members of the Serbian LC Central Committee and certain members of the LCY Central Committee from Kosovo should also be held responsible. Third, he demanded that the task of carrying out the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum should be energetically begun at once, that the fastest possible schedules should be fixed, and that persons responsible for this work should be appointed. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item] Demands Presented by Kosovo Polje [subhead]

The evening before last, Pavle Jovanovic presented the following demands in the name of the Kosovo Polje 16th and 17th local communities:

The 16th and 17th local communities of Kosovo Polje considered the draft theses of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium for this conference at the meetings of their LC action conferences on 31 April and 16 May 1988. They compiled a summary of the general debate that has been carried out in these two local communities and took the decision to address the Kosovo LC Conference through their own delegate and to demand accountability from the conference for the most important issues to be considered at this conference.

The future Kosovo LC Conference is expected and asked to reply to the following questions:

Why is the political and security situation deteriorating daily, and why is the real situation ever more serious and complicated, even more so than it was before the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum on Kosovo? (This observation relates to the Kosovo Polje area, but we notice that it also holds good for many other districts.)

Why are international relations deteriorating?

Why is Serbian and Montenegrin emigration continuing at the same rate, and why is the policy of encouraging emigrants to return, as laid down in the ninth plenum conclusions, not being implemented?

Why are the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum not being acted upon in Kosovo?

Why has counterrevolution continued for more than 7 years? Are the separatist forces so strong that a civilized state, with all the means at its disposal, cannot halt their momentum, or is it a matter of our lack of effectiveness?

The Communists of Kosovo Polje ask why the Kosovo issue, as an all-Yugoslav matter, is not being tackled by the whole of Yugoslavia, but only by Serbia.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje call to account the leaders of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee who have been in positions since 1981, and specifically the following: Kolj Siroka, Nebih Gasi, Ilija Vakic, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi, because they are objectively most responsible for the situation in which we now find ourselves, and because they played a key role in the general policies pursued in Kosovo, especially in the cadre policy which encouraged emigration here in Kosovo Polje.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje raise the question of the responsibility of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium itself in its disagreement with part of the assessments of the Pristina LC Communal Committee regarding the responsibility of the Pristina LC Communal Committee leadership, because of their biased view of the responsibility of Ragip Halili and Nedeljko Pupovac, because of many communiques that were read with anger in Kosovo Polje, and because of various views expressed by members of this presidium in connection with the petition of 50,000 citizens of Kosovo and the opinions expressed by the relevant authorities addressed in this petition.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje consider it appropriate for the Kosovo Presidency and Presidium to say why this petition was not delivered to them and why it was put to one side. The Communists believe that the best reply to this question is the recently pronounced statement of certain members of these two bodies.

Why do the gatherings in Kosovo Polje consist of only one nationality, and are described as such, when they are open to all inhabitants of Kosovo Polje?

The Communists of Kosovo Polje stress once again that 1988 is a decisive year for the question of whether the Serbs and Montenegrins will remain in Kosovo, and emphasize that their continued presence depends greatly upon the standpoints to be adopted at this conference and their implementation.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje have always unanimously stressed that the Serbian and Montenegrin people have never said that they cannot live with Albanians who are in favor of Yugoslavia, and that they have never identified these Albanians with Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje present all these issues out of fear lest we should become accustomed to a situation like the present, as we will if we continue as we have in the past, since the separatists are in the process of realizing their aims.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje once again remind the delegates to this conference of the seriousness of the tasks facing them, and particularly the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, since the standpoints adopted at this conference must be incorporated into a working plan.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje demand that Ragip Halili be expelled from the ranks of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and that his place be taken by Hysamedin Azemi, present president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje demand that this conference and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee should, in their standpoints and their working plans, enter into all those issues that have been put before them in the name of the Kosovo Polje Communists, since it is a matter of questions that have been stressed for many years in our area.

The Communists of Kosovo Polje wish the Kosovo LC Conference success in its work and greet all its delegates, inviting all Albanians who are in favor of Yugoslavia to commit themselves utterly to the struggle against the common evil that faces us. Otherwise the Albanian separatists will entirely achieve their aims, which would have a destructive effect on our Yugoslavia, and beyond. [end of boxed passage]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item] Statement of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in Connection with the Demands of the Kosovo Polje LC Action Conferences [subhead]

Because the delegate Pavle Jovanovic presented to this conference certain demands at yesterday's debate in the form of submissions by the action conferences of two local communities and in their name, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium has considered these demands and has decided to issue the following statement to the conference:

The Kosovo LC Conference which we are now holding is governed by the statutes of the Kosovo LC, and the topic we are discussing was laid down during the drafting of the agenda and was incorporated in yesterday's discussion. Standpoints which will be the basis of further action on this question will be approved at the end of the debate. The conference cannot decide and adopt stands upon single demands, proposals, and initiatives that are sent to it in the course of its proceedings, but is guided by LC bodies in this matter.

We were informed the evening before last that neither the Pristina LC Communal Committee nor any other Kosovo LC body had been given prior notice of these proposals, in spite of the fact that it is claimed that they were agreed upon on 30 April and 16 May this year.

We wish to inform the conference that the Provincial Committee concluded at one of its meetings in February this year that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium should be directly obliged to assist the Pristina LC Communal Committee and the Kosovo Polje Regional Conference in solving the many problems exacerbating the situation in this area. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium appointed a particular working group, which, together with the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium, will be continually engaged in this issues. The presidium sent a statement about this to the members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in April, and this work is still continuing.

As far as wider issues are concerned, the Provincial Committee examined a statement in April on the progress hitherto in enforcing the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenun. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium also issued assessments of the political and security situation. All these assessments were presented to the public. They are public documents, and as such can be used by everybody who is familiar with them, in every LC organization.

Yesterday, certain cadres were accused, as has happened on some earlier occasions, in a baseless, arbitrary, and tendentious way, and according to an extraordinary process of selection.

We repeat what we stressed earlier, and as is stated in Item 19 of the Conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenun, that such accusations are intolerable and malevolent, and as such must be rejected outright.

The many issues repeated here are under our consideration, were assessed over the past 2 days at this conference, and given answers.

However, there are many other issues here that local Communists themselves must consider and decide upon, working toward their solution. It is local Communists who must explain why the local situation is such as it is, how they view it, and what they for their part are going to do to stabilize it. All these and other problems can and must be considered and clarified locally with the help of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium.

This statement only concerns the submissions made by the delegate Pavle Jovanovic in the name of the two action conferences, and not various parts of his speech which are inexact and unacceptable, but which do not concern the Presidium, since this is an open and democratic debate. [end of boxed passage] [passage omitted]

Indian Prime Minister Arrives on Official Visit

LD1307095688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi arrived in Belgrade today on a 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and of FEC President Branko Mikulic. The Indian prime minister was accorded a formal welcome at Belgrade Airport.

Rajiv Gandhi was welcomed by FEC President Branko Mikulic, Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, and other personalities.

Mikulic, Gandhi Hold Talks

LD1307215988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2114 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Indian relations are traditionally friendly and are marked by a mutual understanding and common goals, Prime Ministers Branko Mikulic and Rajiv Gandhi said in Belgrade this evening.

Yugoslav Premier Mikulic and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who arrived on a visit to Yugoslavia today, this evening told Yugoslav and Indian reporters about the contents of the first round of official Yugoslav-Indian talks.

They said that Yugoslav-Indian trade over the past two years had tripled and that there were scopes and wishes to achieve more.

In the first six months of the year, India recorded a 91 million dollar trade deficit, with Yugoslav exports accounting for 60 million dollars. During their opening talks this afternoon, Mikulic and Gandhi also discussed solutions to this problem. Mikulic expressed Yugoslavia's readiness to increase imports from India.

Yugoslavia and India wish to develop industrial cooperation and promote joint investments, they said and expressed support for the orientation of Yugoslav and Indian firms to long-term agreements.

In addition to bilateral cooperation, Mikulic and Gandhi today also discussed some questions of international cooperation, particularly within the Movement of Non-Alignment, activities of the United Nations, the Group of 77, South-South cooperation, the continuation of the North-South dialogue and other current international problems.

They assessed that the two countries, as co-founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, are particularly responsible for giving an impetus to the activities of the non-aligned. In this connection it was said that the movement should direct its potentials towards solving major international economic problems, because these are the problems that affect the non-aligned and other developing countries the most.

Creditors must give debtors a chance for development, because it is only through development that debtor obligations can be met, and this is in the interest of both the creditors and debtors, Mikulic and Gandhi said.

The journalists were also told that agreement has been reached on renewing the tripartite Yugoslav-Indian-Egyptian agreement on economic cooperation, probably in September. The agreement, which was signed twenty years ago, will in future cover not only traditional forms of trade, but will include all other areas of cooperation that promote higher forms of economic cooperation.

Yugoslav-Indian official talks continue tomorrow. Prime Minister Gandhi will meet with Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic and Yugoslav party President Stipe Suvar.

Rajiv Gandhi today laid flowers at the grave of the late Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito. He also visited the Park of Friendship and was presented with a memorial-plaque of the city of Belgrade in the city assembly.

Mikulic, Gandhi Exchange Toasts

LD1307181188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic hosted a dinner in honor of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade today. On this occasion Mikulic and Gandhi exchanged toasts.

Having wished his eminent guest a cordial welcome, Mikulic spoke with particular respect about Rajiv Gandhi's importance as a prominent statesman for international relations. Branko Mikulic said that in Rajiv Gandhi, Yugoslavia has a genuine friend.

"Our desire is thus all the greater to see your visit to Yugoslavia crowned with total success in every aspect, to make you feel how deep and strong our feelings of friendship and respect for the Republic of India and its people are," the FEC president stressed.

Mikulic spoke of the rich tradition of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and India and about the lasting value of the work of Josip Broz Tito, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Indira Gandhi in establishing close and comprehensive relations between the two nonaligned countries.

The FEC president said that Gandhi's visit is "viewed as reflecting mutual desire and need" for continuing useful dialogue at the top level.

In his toast, Mikulic also stressed the historic importance of the Nonaligned Movement as an independent, nonbloc and global factor in international relations "whose activity is having an increased impact and is respected throughout the world." The Nonaligned Movement has made a major contribution to the efforts to safeguard world peace, to enhance international security, to eliminate colonialism, and to overcome numerous difficulties confronting the world today, Mikulic added.

The FEC president stressed the need to update the activity of the Nonaligned Movement and for its prompt reaction to developments and changes in the world.

Mikulic said that "the current developments raise the hope that the ongoing process of detente in the world will continue," but he also stressed that it does not mean that the process will continue of its own accord. "Positive tendencies in international relations require that we all join in them and exert a constructive influence on those factors in international relations that have prime responsibility for ensuring that negotiations replace confrontation as a lasting and stable characteristic of international relations," he said.

Mikulic said he views as exceptionally important the recent agreement between the two superpowers in the sphere of disarmament and expressed hope that the agreement constitutes the beginning of the process of genuine nuclear disarmament and of eliminating other types of weapons.

The FEC president called on the international community, the United Nations, and the Nonaligned Movement to "invest even more resolute efforts to eliminate the hotbeds of crisis, to secure the unassailable rights for the people in those parts of the world to freedom, independence, and their sovereign right to choose their own road of development."

Mikulic drew attention to the very serious problems in international economic relations. They are most seriously affecting the developing countries but are also having wider implications as sources of destabilization and threats to peace and security in the world, the host to the Indian prime minister stressed. Mikulic expressed Yugoslavia's deep concern over the slow pace of changes in these relations necessary for creating conditions conducive to the developing countries' faster development.

"The resolution of some of the problems in this sphere cannot be delayed but calls for an urgent and efficient action within the UN system to find appropriate solutions acceptable to all. The removal of protectionism and technological monopolies and the alleviation of the burden of debts are an inevitable path toward equal economic relations in the world," he said, adding that it is necessary to "start as soon as possible a dialogue between the debtors and creditors to find a global solution to this problem. This would be of interest to both sides." "Otherwise, there is a danger of the world being confronted with an economic crisis of deep consequences for all mankind," the Yugoslav premier warned.

Mikulic called for closer economic cooperation between nonaligned and other developing countries with the aim of galvanizing the process of changes. Within this context, Mikulic also stressed the need to update the spirit and content of the tripartite agreement among Yugoslavia, India, and Egypt "which has affirmed itself as a significant instrument of a higher level of cooperation."

Mikulic said that stable Yugoslav-Indian relations should be strengthened and enriched with contents demanded by contemporary development.

He stressed that the basis for improving quality trade, as well as modern forms of cooperation, such as joint investments, production, and industrial and technological cooperation on development projects, has already been created.

"I am convinced, Mr Prime Minister, that you share my view that your visit and the substantive talks we have held will stimulate our economic departments, associations, enterprises, and science to strengthen long-term aspects of economic ties. On our side, we are ready to make the utmost efforts to establish this new quality. We believe that with these talks already, in addition to giving support to agreements between representatives in mixed committees, we have carried out a significant task and have taken a new step in this direction, FEC President Branko Mikulic said at the conclusion of his toast.

Thanking his host, Branko Mikulic, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi immediately stressed that the ties of Yugoslav-Indian friendship are strong, and that such a friendship has been built on the visionary aspirations of Josip Broz Tito and Nehru.

Noting that the "policy of nonalignment has become the key factor of peace and stability in a divided world," Gandhi added that he is especially happy to be in Yugoslavia, "with which we have, hand in hand, followed the path of nonalignment." The high-ranking guest then said that after Tito's death Indira Gandhi continued to develop ties strengthened by mutually useful relations and cooperation.

Rajiv Gandhi stressed that Yugoslavia and India are also cooperating closely within the Nonaligned Movement and in the United Nations. He said that Branko Mikulic's visit to India in 1986 gave new stimuli to improving overall relations between the two countries. "We are linked by a great proximity of views and deep mutual understanding," the Indian prime minister added.

Elaborating in particular on why the Nonaligned Movement has grown into a big power in international relations, whose influence at present by far surpasses the framework of its members, Gandhi stressed that is was also reflected in the continued dialogue between the two biggest nuclear powers. Gandhi expressed the conviction that the scope of the nonaligned policy will deepen and widen, and that it will result in better understanding and cooperation in the international community and a nuclear-free world. In this context, he noted the very great significance of the United Nations as the leading forum for international agreements.

Rajiv Gandhi stressed that India "supports the involvement of Yugoslavia in strengthening peace, security, and cooperation in the Mediterranean area." Also, he expressed support for the "efforts of Yugoslavia toward improving cooperation in the Balkans."

Gandhi added that India is making efforts to improve cooperation among the countries of its own area. Gandhi mentioned as particularly significant "the historic agreement between India and Sri Lanka, made in July last year, to end the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka." This agreement is yet another confirmation of the ability of nonaligned countries to deal with even very complex problems through their own efforts, the Indian prime minister stressed.

Then the Indian prime minister respectfully spoke about the successes Yugoslavia has realized in its course of development. He said that India is attentively following the processes of changes in the SFRY economy, in which "agriculture has progressed while the industrial infrastructure has been strengthened and broadened." "The number of Yugoslav producers currently present in the world market is impressive," the high-ranking guest stressed. Noting that Yugoslavia is one of the industrially most developed countries among the developing countries, he added that Yugoslavia also has to face difficulties which are the "result of the present unjust international order."

Rajiv Gandhi stressed that India, also facing many economic problems, has made great efforts to improve its agriculture and to ensure industrial development and has recorded huge results in this. He said that last year India was hit by one of the worst droughts. Nevertheless, the country is succeeding in overcoming difficulties and is showing that it is dependent upon the great aim that it has set for itself—that is, to completely conquer poverty by the end of the century.

In conclusion, Gandhi said the "excellent political understanding between Yugoslavia and India is not accompanied by strong economic cooperation." He added that he is satisfied that new dynamism was instilled into economic bilateral relations (since the already mentioned visit by FEC President Mikulic to India), and that "our common aim should be to improve comprehensive cooperation, so that it will be an example for relations between developing countries." Gandhi expressed the conviction that in the forthcoming years, Yugoslav-Indian relations will move in the desired direction.

Iranian Airbus Downing 'Price of Self-Delusion'

AU1407073888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Jul 88 p 11

[From "The Week in the World" column by Zoran Mandzuka: "The Price of Self-Delusion"]

[Text] One of the most absurd and of the saddest things is to become the victim of one's own propaganda, particularly when this keeps recurring over and over. This is precisely what happened to the Americans.

Why was a missile fired from an American warship in the Gulf to down an Iranian civilian airliner and kill 290 innocent people? The answer is still being sought, but some strong lessons are already evident, especially those that refer to the consequences of taking unnecessary but frequent doses of self-delusion pills.

Let us remember, for instance, Sakhalin and the downing of the South Korean civilian airliner, which was hit by Soviet fighters over Soviet territory in 1983. Some people now try—it seems in a foolhardy way—to compare (and some people even to equate) Sakhalin and the Gulf, while it would make more sense to compare American reaction in both tragic cases.

The first reaction 5 years ago was virtually hysterical, full of negative emotional charges against the "Evil Empire," as U.S. President Ronald Reagan then described the Soviet Union.

The second reaction this week displays self-defense instincts and is full of regret, but not an admission of error, and one notices an effort not to create "an atmosphere of crisis"; which, however, may indicate (or reflect) the absence of any new idea or tactics in the very U.S. policy in the Gulf and around it.

Changed Role [subhead]

Despite the missile, one persists on the strategy of some 30 warships which—along with twice as many allied ships—have been since last July officially protecting the tankers that sail under foreign flags in these boiling waters.

It is less important whether this has been done in cooperation with the State Department or not, but the Pentagon changed its self-appointed role as a guardian of peace for the role of a policeman, despite—this should not be forgotten—an experience that would suggest greater caution in decisionmaking, despite the misfortune that occurred in May last year: despite the attack on the frigate "Stark" in which 37 crew members lost their lives. It was an Iraqi attack and it was, quite certainly, one of the fatal consequences of the situation in the Gulf. The Iraqis apologized, and Ronald Reagan declared that "such a mistake must never be repeated."

But it has been repeated. This time it was an American mistake.

Some questions, almost hypothetical ones, appear in this connection and their significance is not negligible. Equipped with three-dimensional radars, computers, and video displays, the U.S. Navy ships possess a defensive missile system that is considered the most perfect in the world. Is it perhaps so complicated that is has exceeded the abilities of the "human factor" that operates it? What did the American reconnaissance planes with their most modern equipment do last week? Or was the cool military logic (perhaps it rests on a simple logic of force) ahead of political reasoning in this case?

Another question: Which is senior?

Even among those who agree that the "terrible mistake" could have been avoided, there are some assert, not quite without basis, that Iran—by expanding its hostilities in the war with Iraq to international waters—led to the presence of the U.S. fleet and thus indirectly to the catastrophe.

It seems that it is more realistic to believe that because of the said absence of a comprehensive political strategy, Washington with its military engagement simply fell into a trap. Its own trap.

The United States nevertheless is not alone among those who do not do enough or do it incompletely. Indeed, until the downing of the Iranian airliner, 40 tankers crossed the Gulf daily, despite the war. They transport to the West one sixth of its oil. At the same time, the major part of industrial exports from the West to this part of the world are carried in ships here.

In brief, this is a region of multiple importance, in which the American attitude may sometimes be questionable, but one thing is quite sure: For 8 years now, the nonsense war between Iraq and Iran has confirmed the presence of a constant danger in the Gulf and the possibility of attacks on tankers of neutral countries which carry oil for economic reasons and needs. The need to set up a system of more efficient international control has been, and unfortunately remains, necessary. Primarily with the United Nations.

There is no such thing.

This week, something else seems certain: If we separate ourselves for a moment from the human side of the tragedy, the American missile hit the Iranian plane perhaps in the worst possible political moment, at a time when there were some indications that there are some forces in Tehran trying to put "their house in order," within the future in mind. And that there were some who did not reject the possibility of perhaps an indirect restoration of any kind of dialogue with Washington, a dialogue that has long been interrupted. It seems that the missile brought that down, too.

The tragedy is another confirmation of the necessity to end a war which for a long time has ceased to be simply an armed conflict between two neighbors and two nonaligned countries, Iran and Iraq. If week or strong reasons led one to feel that until last week the two sides were prepared for steps toward peace more than they used to be, the American missile again incited a wave of an almost fanatical support "for our brave boys at the front" in Tehran...

Conclusion of CPSU Conference, Resolutions Noted
AU0207160588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 88

[Special correspondent Branislav Canak report from Moscow]

[Text] In Moscow, papers reach the newsstands early, but except for some weeklies, they can be obtained all day long. This morning there were no papers until 1100, and then they were all sold out in a hurry. (?The delay was due to the fact) that the CPSU conference concluded its work late last night, and the sell-out was due to the great public interest in the details of the discussion yesterday. Even apart from the speech by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, which was incredibly frank given the circumstances here, and the direct confrontation between Yeltsin and Ligachev (?at the conference), it seems that the readers this morning were looking for other facts in the papers.

Over the past few days, the Kremlin Palace of Congresses has been the place where one could precisely see how far perestroyka [Russian word for restructuring used] had gone, and in which direction and in which way it would proceed. The conference decisions, and even more the road by which they were reached, are the proper indicator of the readiness and ability of the Soviet party to change society and itself.

The press carries today the first reactions by delegates to the conference that has just ended. This was the first time that I have been at such a gathering, a delegate from Moldavia says. Indeed, I have been a deputy to the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, but there I have become accustomed to run-of-the-mill discussions and to deputies who listen without interest or read the newspaper.

Another delegate says that he is enthusiastic because for the first time he had the opportunity to attend a political gathering which had no ready-made decisions for which one would have to vote.

A delegate from Ukraina (?says in a newspaper) that one of the impressions he got at the conference was (?the image of the press). For decades we have been used to the press as a (?presenter of lies), he says, but now it finally became a strong implement in the struggle for the truth and against bureaucracy. The only problem is that we and doctors (?cannot correct mistakes), this man said.

(?Let us say) in conclusion, that the conference adopted six resolutions on the realization of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, on the democratization of society and the reforms of the political system, on the struggle against bureaucracy, on intranational relations, on openness, and on the legal reform. The resolutions were adopted after a wide discussion in the conference commissions, and this was preceded by a public discussion in which some 20,000 amendments were proposed.

In his closing speech at the conference, Gorbachev proposed another resolution on some urgent measures for the practical implementation of the political reform. The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference thus concluded its work.

Suvar Briefed on Conference
LD0807150688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Viktor Maltsev, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, who briefed him on the work and results of the recent 19th CPSU Conference.

CPSU Conference Assessed
AU0607081988 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jul 88 p 4

[Risto Bajalski commentary: "Two-Directional Openness"]

[Text] It was expected that the all-union CPSU conference would be more frank [otvoren] and more open [glasan] than any other party gathering in the Kremlin, and this was indeed what happened. This is the result of a new political climate that has been created in the country over the last 3 years. The two-directional traffic of openness was also present at this "mini congress" of the Soviet party, at this forum of 5,000 delegates, and judging by its effects, this gathering will, without any doubt, be the most important gathering among the last few party congresses.

In contrast to the previous top gatherings of the CPSU, the extent and direction of critical analyses were not prescribed in advance and they were not channeled from one place. The delegates did not try to rigidly follow the line of the general secretary's speech, and were not afraid to tackle various topics. According to everything that was heard at the congress in the Kremlin this week, not everything that Mikhail Gorbachev said was "taken for granted." The supporters of perestroyka [Russian word for restructuring used throughout] and deep democratic reforms dissociated themselves from some ideas of the party leadership, as did the conservatives, who are in real life opposed to democratic changes. At the CPSU conference, the delegates openly polemicized about various ideological stances. This fact is no longer an unpleasant surprise even for the party delegates in the Kremlin, nor for the Soviet general public. The essence of perestroyka and openness in fact lies in the fact that personal views and stances should not remain hidden and that it is natural for them to be a part of the struggle of ideas.

According to expectations, the clash between various interests was most clearly demonstrated when the party leadership made a proposal regarding changes in the country's political system. This is understandable because the proposed changes threaten the decades-old sacred authority of party committees at all levels. No one, however, opposed the proposal that the soviets of peoples deputies, representative organs, be given the right to be a real power, to independently decide on all matters according to their constitutional powers—in other words, to cease to be the executive organs of the party committees. But this did not happen, probably because, according to Mikhail Gorbachev and the Politburo, the secretaries of the party committees received appropriate compensation. It was proposed that all the first secretaries of the party committees be candidates for the presidents of the soviets of peoples deputies at all levels, and that they be elected by a secret ballot. According to this principle, the general secretary of CPSU Central Committee would be a candidate for the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet—that is to say, for the president of the state. There is no doubt that the majority of delegates at the CPSU conference would support the fusion of the leading party and representative posts (more than 60 percent of the delegates at the conference are party officials), but the usefulness of this proposal was questioned because it is "hardly compatible with the current tendency to branch out the duties of the party and state organs."

Why was it proposed that the leading party people also become leading people in electoral authorities? Most probably because of the feeling that the democratization of the political system can threaten the influence of the first secretaries of the party committees and thus the party apparatus as a whole. Perhaps the proposed compensation to the first secretaries of the party committees is the necessary price for their support for the political and economic reforms. One must take into account the fact that the party apparatus, together with its leading men, has been and still is the best organized force in the country and has the prerogatives of the real power.

The CPSU conference was received not only as a necessary party gathering that should help in speeding up perestroyka and putting up resistance to those obstructing democratic changes in the USSR, but also as a gathering that would reveal those who are resisting reforms and their reasons. This is only possible in the conditions of an open confrontation of different views. It is not in the interest of perestroyka that its opponents keep silent and at the same time work hard against democratic changes from their party positions in the state apparatus.

The CPSU conference in the Kremlin was in a way a representative "sample" for measuring the balance of power in society and for weighing the conservatives' power and reformists' boldness in an open political struggle for changes. Only the subsequent analyses will show the usefulness to the Soviet society of this confrontation of differing views at the conference. One thing is, however, certain: In the atmosphere of openness the conservatives have smaller chances of winning because they are forced to come out of their trenches. However, real political battles will continue and will intensify after the party conference in the Kremlin.

Worth noting is also the fact that the delegates in their speeches—regardless of the kind of views they held—paid more attention to the current "state" of the 3-year-old perestroyka, than to past times, to the period of lagging behind during Brezhnev's time, to Khrushchev's failure to exploit opportunities, and to Stalin's time and his system of ruling society. This does not mean that analyzing and learning lessons from the past will be pushed aside, but only implies the readiness to conduct a party discussion on perestroyka on the basis of a critical review of perestroyka's realization up to now. It is interesting that at the conference in the Kremlin it was the staunchest supporters of democratic changes that were critical of the results of perestroyka, and not the conservatives. Does this not mean that the opponents of perestroyka are pleased with the pace of real changes and that this indicates that there is a chance that changes could be brought to a halt? There are many signs internally in the USSR that make this question appropriate.

Changes in the political system of the USSR is a job that cannot be completed at this CPSU conference. The front of this battle, one could say, is only beginning to open wider and is deeper than ever before. We still do not know what more than 200 delegates had previously said about this, but the conference's decision that working groups prepare six resolutions on this gathering speaks about intentions that the battle of different views will continue outside the conference hall in the Kremlin. The first resolution should contain the assessment of perestroyka; the second an assessment of what has been achieved in the last 3 years; the third resolution should contain the draft proposal of changes in the political system; the fourth should be about struggle against bureaucracy; the fifth about intranational relations; and the sixth about openness and legislative reforms. All these documents will in fact affect the political reform.

The debate in the Kremlin promises that the conference documents will be substantive and precise as well as politically offensive because many speakers were very open about some controversial issues or unfinished work. For instance, several hours were devoted to the polemics about openness or the current physiognomy of the press. Some were shrinking from openness, while others thought that the public has the right to know everything. There were also those who looked for the "golden mean" and did not reject the need for information about the facts of life, but wanted to see more responsibility for public statements. There were also delegates who asked precise questions about the departure of some people from the leading party and state posts, and who found that their conduct from high positions was not compatible with the policy of democratic changes. Various proposals were made to restrict the term of office of elected posts, but no one held the view that the leaderships' terms of office should be restricted.

The CPSU conference will certainly be an event without precedent in the history of the USSR in many respects.

Joint Trade Commission With USSR Meets

Krekic Receives Soviet Official

LD0807215088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign economic relations, today received Yevgeniy Osadchuk, the Soviet deputy minister for foreign economic relations, who is leading the Soviet delegation at the meeting of the mixed commission for commodity exchange. During their meeting, they discussed the most topical issues pertaining to current commodity exchange and overall economic cooperation, including the implementation of the agreement to reduce outstanding Yugoslav claims on the clearing account.

Session Ends; Protocol Signed

LD0907203288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—The SFRY-USSR mixed commission on commodity exchange ended its session today with the signing of a protocol in Belgrade. The commission examined the situation in connection with concluding and signing a protocol on commodity exchange for 1988. Both sides noted that in a 6-month period the volume in both directions was valued at about $5 billion—that is, 91 percent of the total forecast. The achievement in this period shows that mutual deliveries in this period went up by over 7 percent compared to last year's figures for the same period.

Special attention was devoted to drawing up an agreement concerning a reduction in the Yugoslav credit balance on the clearing account. Both sides noted that current measures and activities are not yielding the desired results. A need was also pointed out, as well as a readiness, to urgently implement the agreements reached, with the aim of overcoming this issue which represents an important problem in trade between the two countries and in economic relations as a whole.

The Yugoslav delegation was headed by Djordje Hadzi-Mihailovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign economic relations, and the Soviet one by Yevgeniy Osadchuk, USSR deputy minister for foreign economic relations.

Goods Transport Suspended on Titograd-Shkoder Line

LD2806220588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Titograd, 28 Jun (TANJUG)—With the current economic difficulties, the Titograd Railway Transport Organization has been forced to suspend further goods transportation on the Yugoslav section of the railway line between Titograd and Shkoder which was brought into operation 2 years ago. The reasons for this decision, according to Dragutin Vucinic, chairman of the Business Board of the Titograd Railway Transport Organization, lie in the untimely resolution of compensation for this railway line which, judging by all economic parameters, is unprofitable. Last year alone, 139,000 tonnes were transported along this track, while its capacity is 1 million tonnes of goods a year. Although an agreement on this has already been reached, and the amount of compensation which should be paid for last year and this year to Montenegrin railway workers (the securing of compensation is also envisaged in the resolution for this year) has been established by the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, the money has still not arrived in the account of this collective.

Owing to the failure to pay this compensation, we found ourselves in a difficult economic position, Dragutin Vucinic says, and the difficult situation has also been contributed to by unpaid exchange rate differences, so the work organization at the present moment cannot bear these two burdens.

Montenegrin railway workers have already informed the competent organs in the republic and the federation of this decision, and in conformity with the international agreements, the corresponding organs in Albania will also be acquainted with this.